

THE
L I F E
OF
AUGUSTUS CÆSAR,

Containing the most
Remarkable Events of that Age.

WITH
A General Idea of the Manners of the
Roman People under his Reign,
and the Plan of his Government
and Politics.

To which is prefix'd, by way of *Introduction*,
A Short and Clear View of the FIRST
TRIUMVIRATE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

L O N D O N:

Printed for D. BROWNE, at the *Black Swan*
without *Temple-Bar*; and W. REEVE, at
Shakespeare's-Head near *Serjeant's-Inn* in
Fleetstreet. MDCCXLVIII.

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Fleet-Street. MDCCLXXIII.



TO the HONOURABLE

Sir Charles le Blon, Knt.

THIS ESSAY OF

ROMAN HISTORY,

IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

By his most obedient,

And most devoted Servant,

J. D.

To the Honorable
Sir Charles A. B. K.

FROM A. H. T. R.

Is most humbly inscribed,

By the author,

And now done.



THE
P R E F A C E.

EVERY man has his different tastes, as well with regard to reading, as all other things. Some read only for instruction, others for amusement. Each has his reasons, and it would be losing time to oppose them. But what may be said with truth, is, that history alone has the power of reconciling all those differences, by uniting pleasure with instruction.

Books of philosophy, and other sciences, have only precepts without ornament. The writings of the poets on the contrary have nothing but ornament, which is natural to them; for the hints of morality which we find in them are not taken from their own

fund, they owe them to philosophy, and we may say as much of romances, and even of those polite novels, whose purity of stile, and delicacy of sentiments, have recommended them of late to universal approbation. Tho' some may have merited this with great justice, yet we clearly see they are only designed for amusement, and besides they might throw us back into the perplexities of the first Grecian histories, in which truth and fable are in such a manner mixt and confounded, that it is almost impossible to unravel them.

It is true, that in this kind of writing we may employ all the beauties of discourse; but it is likewise true, that history has its natural graces, which it draws from truth itself.

We find in history a thousand beautiful places wherein truth may receive all the embellishments of art, without losing its character, especially when we confine ourselves to certain bounds, nor pass beyond our prescribed limits. This is the manner of Sallust, who has made himself almost inimitable. The most skilful of the Greek historians had set him the example, which Appian has followed; and it is from this last historian that we have taken the design of this Essay of Roman History, which contains that of the

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the First Triumvirate, and the reign of Augustus.

These great men had without doubt considered that the design of a general history is too vast and extensive, to leave in the mind ideas sufficiently clear and distinct. If the mind of the author is not confounded, that of the reader becomes languid, we lose ourselves in a long succession of years, and such a multitude of different transactions. We must cut off almost all ornaments, avoid descending to particulars, and mentioning several other circumstances which give all the pleasure of history, and are oftentimes the true cause of the greatest events. In a word, it is for this kind of writing that criticks have laid down the severe rules of the historical stile. These difficulties are not met with in particular relations. We may seek all ornaments, relate conversations, and letters themselves, describe illustrious persons, descend into a minute detail of their private life, and thus raise or lower our stile as the subject requires. We might add still many other reasons, if it was not true that in works of ingenuity, almost every one consults nothing but his own taste. In fine, when the manner has the happiness to please, no one troubles himself with

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with enquiring, whether it be that of Herodotus, Thucydides, or Sallust.

Yet whatever liberty we have taken, we have endeavoured to employ no other decorations, but such as naturally arose from the subject. It is for this reason we would not engage ourselves in descriptions of provinces and towns, and have abridged many of the public and private harangues. Things of this nature are oftentimes tedious without instruction, and always serve less to give light to the subject, than to set off the eloquence of the author.

We have divided our work into two volumes, in the first is contained a succinct account of the First Triumvirate, and in the second the Life of Augustus, in two parts. In the first are seen those murders with which Antony and Lepidus stained the Triumvirate, and of which Augustus himself was not innocent: as likewise the battle of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius fell, with the Roman liberty: and in fine, the war in Sicily, the defeat of young Pompey, his death, and the ruin of the republican party, of which he was the last support. We see in the second part, the battles of Actium and Alexandria, which established Augustus in the empire by
the

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the death of Antony and Cleopatra: the victories of Agrippa, Tiberius, Drusus, and the first successes of Germanicus. But we have principally endeavoured to trace the plan of the government of Augustus, and give a just idea of his policy, which is worthy, without doubt, of the imitation of all such princes, as would aggrandize themselves with security, and reign with glory.



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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
First Triumvirate.



CHAP. I.

*The State of the Roman Republic after
the Conspiracy of Catiline.*



AFTER the desolation and burning
of Rome by the Gauls, this city
never found itself in so great a dan-
ger, as that to which it was reduced
by the conspiracy of Catiline *. One

* Lucius Sergius Catiline, died in the year of the world
3990, and from the foundation of Rome 690, before the birth
of Christ 62.

cannot read without horror in the history of Sallust, the frenzy and fury of this man, who was push'd on by debauchery and ambition; nor too much admire his address in conducting a design, which was to carry both fire and sword into the bosom of his own country. The prudence and care of Cicero hindered the effect. Catiline was killed at the head of his troops which he was marching against Rome; but neither his defeat nor his death left that city in a more peaceable situation, or less exposed to the enterprises which the most ambitious of the senate formed against its liberty; and indeed it was difficult for their passion to propose to itself a more illustrious object, since the conquest of that city alone inevitably carried with it that of the greatest part of the universe. In effect, after the war of the allies, in which the forces of all Italy becoming jealous of the grandeur of Rome, and being armed against them, had been defeated in several battles, this part of the world was in a perfect submission. Half of Gaul, and all Spain received law from its prætors that were sent to them. The coast of Africa as far as Egypt obeyed the Romans, and Egypt itself could not maintain its authority under its kings, but by the profession which they made of respecting in all things the authority of the senate. Syria was reduced to a province and governed by Roman officers. And after the defeat and death of Mithridates †, all the princes of the lesser Asia had submitted to pay tribute, too happy in having thus escaped, by

† He was king of Pontus, a province of the lesser Asia, and made war against the Romans during 40 years.

having



having gained the interest of the senate. Greece under an appearance of liberty was the more submissive, as she was bound besides by the right of conquest, by those likewise of duty and gratitude. In fine, all that coast which is extended along the Adriatic gulph, even a considerable way into Germany was possessed by powerful armies that made head against the barbarians, and the defeat of the pirates, whom Pompey had driven into the mountains of Cilicia, established the Roman empire over all the Mediterranean. These conquests had filled Rome with plenty and voluptuousness. Liberal arts, which are usually their attendants, were introduced there. Science was a common quality in persons even of the highest birth and distinction, and almost every one of that age was polite and learned. Thus never any other city produced so great men for war, for eloquence, for law, for poetry, and every degree of literature. It was natural ambition would mix itself among so many great qualities. These men, who at the end of those employments which they exercised at Rome, went to receive in the province the honors which are only paid to sovereigns, who commanded great armies, and disposed of kingdoms, had a difficulty to return to the quality of a private life, when they were called back to Rome, and forget the sweetness of absolute power. Envy, as dangerous an evil as common to republics, always joined itself to those illustrious subjects, and never failed of troubling even the repose of those who thought of nothing but quietly enjoying that glory which they had acquired. This mean vice was produced in such as had no less ambi-

tion than the former, but experienced in themselves less of merit or of good fortune. Their pretence was always the public good, tho' they often had in view nothing else but to destroy every thing that opposed itself to their elevation. The high reputation, the great riches, and public honors, others had acquired, appeared to those prejudiced men, so many dangerous qualities to the republic. And these persecutions contributed as much to kindle the flame of civil wars, as that ambition which Cæsar * has been so reproached with, as well as Pompey, who did not put themselves at the head of different factions, but because they found in themselves more merit than they did in others. They were both of them well made, brave, and equally loving glory. Cæsar had the advantage over Pompey in regard of his birth, his family was one of the most illustrious in Rome. He disputed the prize of eloquence with the most famous orators, and nothing seemed impossible to the sublimity of his genius. Pompey had immense riches, the favour of the senate, and an established reputation. He had been made a general as soon as a soldier; but tho' he had never obeyed he was not less skilful in the art of commanding, for he had gained several signal victories, and deserved the honor of a triumph at an age when others only begin to give a proof of themselves. One cannot say precisely which of the two had a greater repugnancy to subjection. Cæsar would have no superior, and Pompey would not suffer an equal. The last supported himself by an extraordinary felicity,

* Caius Julius Cæsar, Cneius Pompeius Magnus, the second name was that of their family.

the other by a very great merit. In a word, they were both of them lovers of honor, generous and magnificent: but the lustre of Pompey's triumphs so far set off all his great qualities, that he passed at that time without any dispute for the greatest man of Rome. There was only Crassus* who found himself able to dispute with him this precedency, by his nobility, the merit of his ancestors, and his great riches, which acquired him the surname of Rich. One may judge of this by what he said himself: That he judged not a Roman rich if he could not maintain an army with his own revenue, yet all his substance did not amount to seven thousand talents; but this brought him in a considerable income by means of his slaves, which some authors reckon to have been forty thousand. Besides he had a great deal of ingenuity, and was very eloquent; for his civility and easiness of access they might be merely the effect of policy. For when Pompey, being puffed up with his victories, thought it became his grandeur to assume a proud air, and have little conversation with others; Crassus on the contrary made himself familiar with every body, and employed at the bar both his credit and eloquence for all those who would make an honorable use of them. From whence came this remark, † which is so beautiful and judicious: That Pompey while he was absent had an advantage over Crassus by the lustre of his great actions; but when he returned to Rome he lost it by his manners. It was not emulation only which kept up their misunderstanding. Crassus had other

* Marcus Lucinius Crassus.

† Pluta. ch.

subjects of complaint against Pompey about the affair of Spartacus. This gladiator had rebelled against the Romans at the head of forty thousand of his companions, and had vanquished three Roman armies. Crassus had at length the good fortune to defeat him, but with a great deal of danger : Spartacus was slain in the throng of the battle, and six thousand of his gladiators having escaped from the fight, and falling by accident into the hands of Pompey, who was returning from Spain with his troops, he cut them all to pieces, and writ to the senate that he had destroyed the very roots of this war. This is what hindered Crassus from triumphing, and obliged him to content himself with the honors of an ovation *, which are much inferior to those of a triumph.

This injury piqued him sensibly, tho' there had been some sort of accommodation betwixt them ; for Crassus in presence of the People had made the first step, saying, that he thought it no shame to make his address to a man whom they had honored with the title of Great ; yet their reconciliation was not sincere. Crassus could not hide his chagrin, and if any one mentioned in his company the great Pompey, he asked how many foot he was taller than himself. Cæsar, who found himself too young to be the head of a party, had joined Crassus, both to balance the power of Pompey, and make his advantage of that of Crassus against his numerous creditors, who were

*. This was a ceremony in which the general made his entry on foot accompanied only with his friends, and went to sacrifice at the capitol.

troublesome to him. Yet there was in reality little sympathy between their inclinations. Crassus was an œconomist even to a degree of avarice, and Cæsar liberal to the last profusion; his love of state intrigues had already ruined him. One may judge of his other expences by the present he made to Servilia mother of Brutus, of a pearl which cost six * thousand sesterces. Those three men were therefore the object of the suspicion and envy of all the other senators. Of this number were † Catulus, ‖ Bibulus, and § Marcellus. And above all ‡ Cicero, who struggled as much as any one of them to signalize his zeal for the republic, and tho' he had the least authority of them all by his birth, and was not ambitious of the title of a great general; yet the qualities of his wit, the unrivaled charms of his eloquence, and happy discovery of the conspiracy of Catiline under his consulship, had placed him in a high degree of reputation. But besides, that this action, which he compliments himself on the score of in his harangues, and very often *mal à propos*, had drawn upon him some ralleries; the punishment that was taken of Lentulus ** and other illustrious persons accomplices in the conspiracy, had drawn upon him powerful enemies. And it was upon this occasion that the troubles began again at Rome.

* Great sesterces, each worth eight pound one shilling and five pence half-penny stirl. † Lucatius. ‖ Calphurnius.
§ Clu dius. ‡ Tullius. ** Cornelius.

C H A P. II.

Intrigue of Cæsar against Cicero. Reply of Cicero to Metellus Nepos. Firmness of Cato.

CÆSAR had obtained strict friendship with several friends of Catiline, which gave a rise to many violent suspicions against him. But Cicero did not judge it proper to press him on this subject, for fear his credit should save the other criminals. Cæsar was, besides this, provoked against the senate, upon account of some disputes which had happened betwixt them during his prætorship, which function he exercised at that time. He therefore took measures with Metellus Nepos *, a tribune of the people, to oblige Cicero to give an account of his conduct to the publick. And Nepos, assisted by Bestia †, another tribune, declared loudly that he would not suffer Cicero to have the liberty of speaking to the people, upon his leaving the consulship, since Cicero himself had condemned senators without hearing their defence. Cicero had been driven to this, on account of the pressing danger; but yet it is true, he had proceeded by the advice of the senate. Notwithstanding, when he presented himself to make an harangue, the tribunes opposed themselves, and only permitted him to take the accustomary oath. He was to swear, that he had done nothing against the known interest of the republic. Cicero, who had a pre-

* Cecilius.

† Calpurnius, or Calphurnius.

gent wit, turned to his own glory that disgrace they had designed him; and swore that he had saved the senate and the Roman people. All the assembly applauded this new oath, and on the morrow, Cicero complained to the senate of the insolence of the tribunes. Nepos answered him: and it was in the heat of these disputes, that Cicero, who was excellent at a reply, made him a very pleasant one. Nepos, who despised the birth of Cicero, asked of him several times, who was his father? to whom he replied upon the spot. If we regard the conduct of your mother, you should be far more puzzled than I, to give an answer to such a question. When this affair came to be debated, the senate judged it concerned their own authority to support Cicero. Thus they forbid to question any one about the death of the conspirators, adding a decree; that they should be held as enemies of their country, who would dare to speak of it before the people.

The tribunes being provoked by this decree, which closed their mouths, and established, as they said, the tyranny of Cicero, proposed to the people, by the advice of Cæsar, the calling back of Pompey, who commanded at that time a powerful army in *Asia*. Their pretence was, to trust him with the interest of the republic, which this growing tyranny threatned. But Cæsar took his private measures, to associate himself with him. This proposition perplexed the senators, most of whom were friends to Pompey, and others were afraid of his troops. But they durst not oppose it directly; they

sought for some one on this occasion, who would sacrifice himself to the hatred of Pompey. Cato * offered himself very gallantly, and perhaps he was moved to it by the address of Cicero. Cato had been brought up in all the austerity of the maxims of his grandfather, *Cato the censor*, and in the strictest rigor of Stoical opinions. Cicero, who knew perfectly his character, defines it very agreeably: severe in his manners, firm in his conduct, unshaken in his sentiments, without regard for criminals, or the least indulgence to any man's crimes; believing that the sage, or truly wise man, could never be mistaken; that he never repented, and that the virtuous alone was effectually happy, rich, fair, and even well made. In a word, he was a man full of admirable intentions, but false reflections; and giving his advice to the senate, as if he had been in the ideal republic of Plato, and not in the midst of the gross corruption of Rome. Yet we must do him this justice to say, he was the only one of them all, who, with perfect sincerity, always designed the public good; and this is what deservedly acquired him so high a reputation for virtue: he was then tribune of the people, with Nepos and Bestia. The principal authority of this charge, consisted in hindering the effect of whatever the other magistrates had proposed, which appeared against the interests of the people. Thus he opposed himself in the senate to the sentiment of Nepos. And when this tribune had brought the affair before the people, and with him a number of armed soldiers to force

* Marcus Portius,

FIRST TRIUMVIRATE. 11

the passing of the law, Cato presented himself alone, with Thermus * one of his companions, and piercing with an intrepid air, that crowd or mob which threatned him, he went directly and sat down between Cæsar and Nepos. He said to Nepos, that he wanted courage to assemble a whole army against a naked man; and when the secretary would have read the edict, he tore it out of his hand. Nepos, who knew it by heart, was going to pronounce it, but Thermus clapt his hand upon his mouth. This obliged Nepos to give a sign to the soldiers. Upon this one saw in a moment, sticks and stones thrown all over the forum. The people fled away; and Cato run great risk of his life, if Murena had not covered him with his robe, and dragged him into the temple of Castor and Pollux. In which the action of Murena † was so much more glorious, as he exposed his own life, for a man who a little before had accused him of a capital crime. The people in a rage returned a moment after in greater numbers, and drove before them the soldiers and Nepos. Cato returned to his place, and exhorted the Romans to shew their vigor. In a word, the law passed not, and Nepos after many threats was obliged to leave Rome, and went to join himself to Pompey.

* Minutius.

† Lucius Lucinius Murena.

C H A P. III.

The affair of Clodius, and the return of Pompey.

LOVE, or rather debauchery, which reigned in Rome to excess, as is usual increased those disorders, and added new flames to the spirit of vengeance and sedition. Clodius *, a young gentleman of an illustrious birth, very rich and eloquent, was so addicted to pleasure, and devoted to a degree of frenzy to the fair sex, that he had given occasion to several infamous reports that spread about, concerning him and his sisters. Three of them were married to persons of great distinction †, Marcius Rex, Metellus Celer, brother of Nepos, and Lucullus ‡. He was at that time enamoured of Pompeia, wife of Cæsar, but this lady was very much confined, under the conduct of Aurelia mother of Cæsar. There was at Rome a famous feast, which they called the feast of the good goddess, who was a certain nymph, the wife of Faunus. Women alone had admittance to assist at these sacrifices, which were performed annually in the house of some one of the magistrates, out of which the men were retired; one alone being capable of profaning the mysteries by his presence. Clodius judged this opportunity favourable to his design, that he might gain a few moments conversation with Pompeia, who presided at this feast, which was celebrated at her house, because

* Publius Clodius Pulcher.

† Cæcilius Lucilius,

‡ Lucius Lucullus.

FIRST TRIUMVIRATE. 13

Cæsar was the high priest. He disguised himself as a young lady, and was introduced by a slave, who ran immediately to admonish his mistress. But as she delayed a little in coming, Clodius thro' impatience and reverie, missing his way in the house, was stopt upon the stairs by a daughter of Aurelia, who knew him by his voice, and gave the alarm by great shrieks and outcries. The feast was disturbed, they hid the sacred mysteries, and the ladies sought for Clodius, who had escaped from the hands of this young lady; they found him in the chamber of her who had introduced him, and he was shamefully driven from the presence of so religious an assembly. As this adventure became publick the next day, every body was scandalized. Cæsar took a very political resolution, and was resolved to make an enemy of no one in the situation of his affairs. Thus without declaring himself against his wife, he was content with divorcing her, and when he was asked the reason, he said, that for his own part he did not believe her culpable: but that the wife of Cæsar ought not only to avoid the guilt, but the very suspicion of it. Cornificius exposed the whole action in an assembly of the senate, which remitted the recognizance of the whole affair to the vestals and pontiffs, whose sentiment was, that a great crime had been committed against religion. The question was now, to take informations and appoint judges. This affair divided the whole city, and renewed the animosity of publick factions. Cæsar was to have taken possession of his government in Spain, at the end of his prætorship; but

but he was kept at Rome, by the prosecution of his creditors. Crassus, who was his friend, pushed on by the sollicitation of Tertulla his wife, who was no less in love with Cæsar, than Clodius was with Pompeia, became bail for him, for eight hundred and thirty talents *. It was in this government, where Cæsar seeing the statue of Alexander, wept for having done nothing of a very extraordinary nature, at an age when this prince had almost conquered the whole world. He gave still further marks of the passion he had for glory, by testimonies of an extraordinary valour: he made all these nations tributary to the Romans, and heaped up great treasures in private, as well as in the name of the republic, to put himself in a condition one day of imitating Alexander. In the mean time Pompey was returned to Rome, covered with glory by the defeat of Mithridates, and by the conquest of the best part of Asia. He had dismissed his troops upon his setting foot in Italy, to prevent those suspicions the public might have had of him, had they seen him return at the head of an army. Thus he obtained the honor of a triumph with general applause, and so much more splendor and glory, as he triumphed at that time over a third part of the world, after having formerly gained the same advantage over the two others.

The triumph lasted two days, and was very magnificent. There were carried in it the names of fifteen conquered provinces, of nine hundred towns, and a thousand castles, or for-

* A talent was worth about 187 l. 10 s. sterl.

tified places. The gold, silver, and precious stones, which made a part in the pomp of this spectacle, amounted to the sum of two millions of gold. He shewed on a table, that he had augmented the public revenue with twelve millions, without reckoning what he had distributed to the soldiers, the meanest of which had received one hundred and fifty crowns a piece. Amongst the prisoners appeared the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, with his wife and daughter. The wife likewise of king Tigranes, called Zozima. Aristobulus king of the Jews. The sister of Mithridates, with five of his children. Several Scythian ladies, with hostages of the Hiberians *, Albanians †, and the king of the Comagines ‡. A domestic displeasure troubled all the joy, which this great blaze of glory could give him; his wife Mutia had seen Cæsar with a little too much familiarity; some indiscreet persons hastily told him of this, upon his landing in Italy; and he was no sooner arrived at Rome, but he divorced her. Pompey received other displeasures on account of the senate. He had asked of them, that they would defer the election of consuls till after his triumph, because he had a mind to support by his presence the interest of Piso §, one of his lieutenants, and it was not permitted those who desired a triumph to enter into the city. Cato opposed himself to this demand, and persuaded the senators to reject it;

* These were the inhabitants of the country, which they call at present Georgia. † People living near the Caspian sea.

‡ This was a province in the neighbourhood of Syria. § Calpurnius.

but the people failed not of deferring to the authority of Pompey, and Piso was elected consul with Messala *. Pompey then made a motion to have all that he had ordered in Asia and elsewhere approved of; but the affair of Clodius delayed all others. The question was, whether the prætor or the people were to have the choice of the judges. Pompey affected the not explaining himself upon this subject. Messala, Crassus, Cato, Cicero, Lucullus, and all the persons of honor, were for the prætor. Piso the consul, assisted by Curio † at the head of all the young nobility, made the other party. The affair was carried on with a great deal of acrimony. Cato came at last to downright invectives against the consul. Clodius who was present, answered with fury rather than eloquence, and abused to a high degree in his harangues, Lucullus, Hortensius, and even Messala. In fine, after many great and passionate disputes in the senate and before the people, Hortensius an illustrious senator, and who for eloquence scarce yielded to Cicero himself, made a motion of remitting the whole affair to the discretion of the people, and having an edict published for this purpose by the tribune Fufius.

The people assumed to themselves the choice of the judges; who were all pitched upon by the intrigues of Clodius. He affirmed that on the day of the festival of the good goddess he was out of Rome, and endeavoured to prove it. Cicero had had some secret intrigue with a

* Valerius, year from the foundation of Rome 692, according to their fasti.

† Marcus Scribonius Curio.

after of Clodius, who was very desirous of marrying him. But Terentia the wife of Cicero, being of a jealous and imperious nature, had broke off the correspondence: it was she who obliged her husband publicly to depose, that Clodius on the very same day came to his house. This action produced by the jealousy of a haughty woman, was the source of that furious hatred which Clodius conceived against Cicero, and the counter shock affected the whole body of the republic; since it obliged him to contribute a great deal to the union of Cæsar and Pompey. Tho' his testimony was received with respect, and the judges had demanded guards for their security, the intrigues and money of Clodius carried the point, and of fifty judges in all, there was thirty for him. Hence it happened that Cicero said to Clodius, who reproached him because the judges had not believed him: thirty of them were persuaded by your money, who would never else have believed your oath; but twenty of them took my bare word. And Cæcilius seeing them returning said with a smile: you asked not these gentlemen for guards, but to carry off in security your booty. This judgment offended every man of probity in Rome, and Cicero above all others, who had indiscreetly drawn upon himself the resentment of a man of so much credit, and one who besides was rash and violent in his nature to a degree of madness. He sought from that moment means of supporting himself by the friendship of Pompey against Clodius, who turned all his thoughts on vengeance, and to succeed in this design petitioned

tioned the tribuneship: but as his family was one of the most ancient of the senators who were not received for this employment, the senate, and even Metellus his brother-in-law, opposed themselves to his intrigue, and this charge was refused him.

C H A P. IV.

Pompey causes new consuls to be chosen, he convenes the senate. The union of Cæsar and Pompey.

POMPEY begun again his solicitations for a confirmation of what he had prescribed in Asia, and for a recompence of his soldiers, to whom he expected they should parcel out certain lands for their possession.

Besides this, he had got two consuls chosen by his credit, Metellus Celer, and Afranius *; but he was deceived in his choice, Afranius, who thought of nothing but his diversion, had no authority with the senate; and Metellus did not consider so much the new obligation had to Pompey, as the outrage that he had done his sister Mutia †. Cato resisted with all his force the sentiments of Pompey, and Lucullus thought of a revenge on this general, who had deprived him of the honor of finishing the total defeat of Mithridates. The customary way on these

* Year of Rome 693.

† Mutia was sister to the mother of Metellus Celer and Nepos.

occasions was to gain over the tribunes of the people, who followed almost constantly the motions that were given them by these magistrates, that were established to defend their rights against the senate. Their forbiddance was a pretence which others supported themselves by; for their authority skilfully used, was so respected that they could send the consuls themselves into prison. Flavius one of the tribunes, proposed an edict or law, for the recompence of the troops. Metellus would put a stop to this by the authority of his charge, and after that the dispute had been pushed even to the extremity of blows and murder, the tribune ordered the consul to be arrested. And as the senate in a body would make them deliver themselves up as prisoners with him, he ordered his tribunal to be placed at the prison door to hinder them from entering. The senators upon this ordered the wall to be pierced in another place, and it is thus that hatred, interest, avarice, lust, ambition, and all the other passions of private persons, opposed daily in bloody disputes the whole strength of the republic. By this one example, we may easily imagine the fury of the rest. The constancy of the senate shook the minds of the people, who are always carried away with the brilliant and outward splendor of actions. Pompey perceived it, and begged of the tribune to yield with a good grace, adding as a pretence, that Metellus had desired it, which no one can believe of the bravery of that consul. Caesar had knowledge of all these disorders, and the subjects of chagrine that were given Pompey. He had

had a mind to experience his own credit with the senate, or else give himself a pretence to leave it's interest. What he had done in Spain deserved the honor of a triumph, which was often granted to far less exploits, he ordered it to be asked for him, and declared at the same time that his design was to pursue the consulship. These demands appeared incompatible.

The law forbid any ones entering the city, who asked a triumph, and would have the petition of the consulship made in person. Cæsar by his letters begged of the senate that he might be dispensed with in these formalities. Cato according to custom maintained the laws in all their rigour; and his sentiment carried it above all other considerations. Upon this, Cæsar without hesitating renounced his triumph, and came to Rome to pursue his consulship. As he was not ignorant of Pompey's credit, and knew the displeasure he had conceived against the senate, this conjuncture appeared favourable to draw him over to his own interest. Pompey on the other hand was glad to acquire a man of such distinguished merit, and all their common friends promised themselves great advantage from this union. Thus they were easily united, and confirmed their alliance by oaths. Cæsar afterwards endeavoured to gain over Crassus, who perceiving he was not strong enough to contest with the power of these two men united, judged it would be more to his advantage to join with them. Cæsar was the arbitrator of the differences between Pompey and him, and applied himself to their reconciliation with so much address,

dress, that he made them forget all their former subjects of mutual aversion. Nothing was more honorable in appearance, than thus to reconcile two men, whose hatred might have had fatal consequences. Notwithstanding this league, which was called the first triumvirate, gave the first shock to the Roman liberties.

CHAP. V.

Consulship of Cæsar, and consequence of his intrigues.

THE effect it had at first was the promotion of Cæsar to the consulship. He had two competitors Bibulus and Lucius, the latter a very covetous and rich man. This latter gained over by the great advantages promised him, gave up his pursuit; and even distributed money to obtain the suffrages of the people in favour of Cæsar.

The senators who supported the interest of Bibulus, voluntarily taxed themselves to raise as much on their side, to the end that this latter might be chose with Cæsar; Cato himself agreeing that the law which forbid giving money on these occasions, ought to yield at that time to the interest of the republic. Cæsar was therefore elected *, and from the very instant he applied himself to gain the favour of the people. This was the customary method of those who

* Year of Rome 695.

had a mind to raise themselves, their pretence was that law which they called the Agrarian. It proposed the distribution of those lands which belonged to the republic in common, in favour of the poor soldiers, and such of the people as had more than three children. The commonalty always received this proposition with a great deal of pleasure. Most violent commotions of the city of Rome, such as that of the Gracchi *, and several others had been stirred up on this occasion. And the whole Roman history furnishes us with examples. Cæsar took upon this affair very subtle measures. The law was conceived in such just terms, that no one could find any thing to say against it. He likewise told the senators, that he would do all things under their authority. He proposed not to them any of his friends, or suspected persons to be commissaries of the distributions; but all such illustrious persons as had passed thro' great employments, and were of a known probity. These precautions scarce left them any liberty of contradicting him: yet the senate had a right to oppose this law; thus they put it off from day to day. At the end Cato took off the mask, and said they must suffer no change in the state at that time. The other senators gave proof it was their sentiment, in such a manner, that Cæsar complaining of the obstinacy and injustice of the senate, remitted the whole affair to the people, bringing with him

* Tiberius and Caius who had strongly supported that law, and had been killed by the senators; the name of their family was Sempronius.

Pompey and Crassus, whose advice he asked about the law. They both approved of it, and Pompey said: that if those who resisted it should come with their swords, he would oppose both swords and bucklers. The people flocked to them in great numbers. And in spite of the oppositions of Cato, and even Bibulus himself, who were driven out of the place by the force of sticks and stones, the fasces of the consul being broke to pieces, the people approved the ordinance, and added that all the senators should swear to observe it. Almost all took this oath except Cato, Metellus and Favonius, who yet all swore at length, when they saw themselves ready to be condemned to a very large fine.

After that time Bibulus durst appear no more in public. But Cæsar having declared, that he would not any more assemble the senate during the rest of the year, did not fail of passing a number of edicts with the people, in spite of those which Bibulus had ordered to be put up, both against him and Pompey, whose discourses had begun to make him odious even to the people themselves. This appeared at the games they celebrated in honor of Apollo, wherein an excellent comedian called Difilus, having pronounced this verse: thou art not great but by our misfortunes. And this other: the time will come when this virtue will cost thee many years. The people made great acclamations, and obliged the comedian to repeat the verses several times. This is what forced Pompey to unite himself still more strictly with Cæsar, by the ties of affinity and blood. He married
Julia

Julia daughter of Cæsar, who was very beautiful and virtuous, and lived in a continued love and amity with him. Cæsar likewise married Calpurnia daughter of Lucius Piso, whom they got designed consul for the following year, with Gabinius one of Pompey's creatures. In short they made to be approved all that Pompey had ordered, and the government of Gaul with Illyrium * to be given Cæsar for five years with four legions.

CHAP. VI.

Consequence of the consulship of Cæsar. The affair of Vettius. Clodius passes from the patrician order into that of the people. Banishment of Cicero.

THIS conduct caused a great fear in all the senators. They made publickly a jest of their mean spiritedness, and many at the head of these acts which were inscribed with the names of the two consuls, instead of Cæsar and Bibulus, put only Caius and Julius Cæsar, which were two names of the same man. The affair of Villius increased those suspicions. He deposed that Bibulus, Lucullus, Domitius, and Curio, had attempted to persuade him to kill Pompey. He named not Cicero, but he delineated him by these words, that a man of consular dignity,

* Triuli and Dalmatia.

very eloquent and a neighbour to Bibulus, had said to him, that they had need of some one as vigorous as Hala *, or the ancient Brutus. He added, that Bibulus had given him a poignard. They made a jest in the senate of this deposition; as if poignards had been so scarce at Rome the consul only could furnish one. Besides Bibulus himself had admonished Pompey to beware of treason. It happened still that Vettius had named, as head of the party, one Paulus †, who was then in Macedoniz. It was believed that other motives made him act. And Cicero said, that it was Cæsar, who had a mind to charge with this crime one Curio, a young man who was very eloquent, and promised much; but very opposite to the other's interest. The senate sent Vettius to prison, because he bore arms against the express order of the laws. Thus every one according to his passion gave a different colour to this affair; but the death of Vettius put an end to it, he died in prison, and as he was a man of no consideration, no body troubled themselves with enquiring in what manner he died. The conduct of Cicero in all this affair had made him much suspected by the triumvirs, and he absolutely ruined himself in their favour, by a discourse which he made against Cæsar, in pleading for Caius Antonius, who had been his colleague in the consulship. Cæsar did not think it became his courage or dignity to dispute by invectives with Cicero. He took another me-

* Servilius, he slew Melius, who aspired to the government, and Brutus had driven the kings from Rome.

† Emilius.

thod to revenge himself; and the very same day made the adoption of Clodius be approved of by the people. This man, who sought all possible ways of destroying Cicero, aspired as we have said to the imployment of tribune; and to remove the obstacle which his birth opposed to his design, he had got himself adopted by one of the commons called Flavius. It was necessary the people should approve of this adoption, and this is what the authority of Cæsar brought about. Cicero had no difficulty in comprehending that this affair regarded him, above all when he saw Clodius chosen tribune of the people. Upon this he sought for the protection of the senate, and made great interest with the order of the knights, by whom he was well beloved, because he had even quarrelled with Cato himself to support the publicans in the rights of the republic, who were almost all of this order. But his greatest hope was in the friendship of Pompey, with whom he had kept up a great intimacy. But Pompey had already sacrificed him to the resentments of Cæsar and Crassus, whom he had offended by his perpetual desire of speaking wittily. Crassus in a public harangue had said, that no one of his family had lived above sixty years. He contradicted this afterwards in the senate, saying, that he did not well know what he thought of at that time. It was, replied Cicero, that you could not but think such an assertion must be agreeable to the people.

Pompey notwithstanding assured him of his protection, and Cæsar offered him his lieutenancy. He had an inclination for this imployment, but
Pompey

Pompey did not counsel him to remove from Rome. Clodius likewise, by means of his sister, made him entertain false hopes, to the end he might be oppressed before he had taken any measures. Thus every one acted in a kind of conspiracy to deceive him. That prudence and policy which he prided in, failed him on this occasion, and he did not perceive the artifice but when it was impossible to avoid it. Clodius began by gratuitous distributions of corn which he made to the poor, that acquired him the favour of the people. Afterwards he forbid the censors to brand any person with infamy, without the advice of the senate and knights. At last he proposed a law, which was the principal motive of the two others. This was to examine into the conduct of all such who had put to death a Roman citizen, without giving him time to defend himself. Every one then saw the danger that threatened Cicero, whom all his constancy seemed to abandon in a moment. He went through the city to solicit the interest of particulars and friends, with a long beard, hair in disorder, and a dress of mourning. All the knights put on the same habit with him, and accompanied him to the number of twenty thousand; likewise many young gentlemen of illustrious families, who had learned from him the rules of eloquence, among whom was the son of Crassus himself. But Clodius followed by armed soldiers, insulted him every where, and reproached him with his cowardice. He proceeded so far, as to order stones and dirt to be thrown at him. Notwithstanding the respect

which was shewn the tribunes was so great, and their persons so sacred, that it hindered every one in the interest of Cicero from returning the outrages. The senate ordered * all to put on mourning, but Piso and Gabinius, who were consuls, hindered the effect of this determination.

Clodius cited them both before the people, where Piso said coldly that cruelty did not please him.

But Gabinius absolutely condemned the consulship of Cicero. His only resource therefore was in the favour of Pompey, who had great power in reality, both by his alliance with Clodius, and his authority over the mind of Gabinius, who was absolutely devoted to him. Pompey would not see him; but went out at a back portal, when Cicero came to beg his patronage. Thus he saw himself reduced to the necessity of taking up arms in his own defence, which he might have done and found sufficient abettors. But as he was not born for war; or as he expresses it himself, the grief of seeing so much citizens blood spilt obliged him, according to the advice of Cato and his other friends, to yield to the storm, by a voluntary retirement. He therefore took a small statue of Minerva, which he had in his house, and carried it to the capitol, where he dedicated it with this inscription: To Minerva the guardian of the city, and went afterwards out of Rome to withdraw into Sicily. After this retreat, Clodius made Cicero be banished in form by the votes of the people,

* Year of Rome 695.

and forbid his being entertained in any house within five hundred miles of the city of Rome. He ordered likewise both his house in the city and country to be razed, and consecrated the place where the latter stood to the goddess of Concord, which was never practised but against traitors of the republic. In short he forgot nothing, of all that hatred and vengeance could inspire.

CHAP. VII.

Departure of Cæsar for the war of Gaul, and the return of Cicero.

AS these motions were, to use the expression, the prelude to the civil wars, since they were the effect of Cæsar and Pompey's friendship, which, in the opinion of Cato, ruined the foundations of the Roman liberty; it was necessary we should relate the particulars. Cæsar departed from Rome at this time, and with a kind of precipitation; because they threatned to make him give an account of his conduct in his consulship. Some tribunes of the people whom he had gained over, opposed themselves to this inquiry, because he was absent for the service of the republic. But they could not hinder his questor, or treasurer, from being condemned. Cæsar therefore went to begin the war in Gaul, which he subjected by actions of a most extraordinary valor. And it is not a little honor to

France to have received the last of all the Roman yoke, and this by the hands of the greatest general they ever had. Pompey remained alone at Rome with an absolute authority, Crassus not meddling with any thing but the augmentation of his revenues. Cicero was banished, and Lucullus, who might have disputed the first rank for his merit and his actions, had withdrawn himself to retirement, which he softened by the pleasures of luxury, the delicacy and magnificence of which gave occasion to the proverb: the feast of Lucullus. This was what put into Clodius's head, who yielded to no one in vanity and rashness, the establishment of his own credit upon the ruins of that of Pompey. The happy success of his designs, and the favour of the people made him hope for every thing. He first removed Cato, under pretence of sending him against Ptolomy King of Cyprus. Clodius thought himself offended by this prince, because having fallen into the hands of pirates, he had only sent him two talents to pay his ransom. This Ptolomy was very rich, and when he understood that the Romans had declared war against him, he flung himself into the sea with the best part of his treasure. After this, Clodius attacked the ordinances of Pompey, and took out of prison the son of Tigranes whom Pompey had triumphed over. Gabinius had a mind to oppose this fury, but Clodius accompanied with armed slaves, which he had drawn from the mountains of Tuscany, attacked him in the open forum, broke the fasces that are always carried before

the

the consul, and wounded several of those who were in his company.

Pompey saw clearly then he must take other measures. He therefore opposed Milo * to him, who was likewise tribune, a man ready to undertake any thing whereby he might rise to honor, a great friend of Cicero's, and bold even to temerity. He resolved likewise to have Cicero recalled, and explained himself about it to his friends. Clodius opposed himself with all his power to this design. He was supported in this by Appius's brother, and Metellus Nepos, who had been chosen consul a little time before, and was an ancient enemy of Cicero's. Lentulus † the other consul, whom Clodius hated because he had been against him in the affair of Pompeia, declared himself openly for Cicero, with all the senate. ‡ Quintus prosecuted the repeal of his brother's banishment; and Milo was to publish the edict. As both parties were supported by the authority of a consul, the sedition was terrible. The Romans put themselves to great expences at their funerals, and among other spectacles or shews, they gave those publick games which they called Funeral. In those, by a custom that was entirely barbarous, gladiators fought to the last fury, and slew one another to the honor of the dead, whose memory they celebrated. Appius had a great number to pay the last duties to one of his relations. Clodius, assisted with these gladiators, flung himself among the people who were assembled about the return of Cicero.

* Annus.
Cicero.

† Cornelius.

‡ Quintus Tullius

The disorder was horrible; there were several persons killed, tribunes wounded, and Quintus the brother of Cicero, almost buried under the dead. As they had not foreseen this surprise, the people dispersed of course. But some days after this, Milo was bold enough to arrest Clodius, and carry him before the prætors upon account of these violences. Metellus forbid the prætors to take cognizance of this action. In fine, Milo having assembled all his friends, and guarded by Pompey's gladiators, brought back boldly the brother of Cicero to the forum. This tribune seemed made expressly to oppose Clodius. He was not less seditious; but he was much braver than the other. Clodius returned again, and little was wanting to the affair's being turned into a true Battle, wherein after much blood having been shed on both sides, Clodius was at length fairly beaten. Marc Antony, who was then very young, and Cicero's warm friend, whom he put to death afterwards, followed Clodius sword in hand, and would have dispatched him if he had not thrown himself into the house of a bookseller, where he hid himself under a heap of mouldy parchments. Thus the friends of Cicero being free masters of the field of battle, ordered his appeal to be published; and there appeared then so great a union between the senate and the people, that of four hundred senators, there was only Clodius who was not for him. One may see in his own works the glory and pomp of his return, with what exalted language he speaks of it, and in what a manner he treats those who had offended him, what
passion

passion he shews against Piso, against Gabinius, and against Clodia herself, whose reputation he tears to pieces in a horrible manner, in that eloquent oration of his for young Cælius. But this belongs not to our subject. It suffices to observe at present, that as he was too wise not to reform his conduct by the example of what had passed, he changed his manners. He devoted himself expressly to Pompey, and seeing that this nobleman had entirely given himself up to Cæsar, he durst not undertake to break their union; judging, as he says, there was folly in hoping it, and insolence in proposing it. He sent his brother to serve under Cæsar, and kept up with him a correspondence of news and politeness. In short, he took all the measures of an artful courtier; as well, adds he of himself, in consideration of their present union, as of that division which might possibly happen betwixt them hereafter.

CH A P. VIII.

Cicero unites himself with Pompey, who is chosen consul with Crassus.

THE return of Cicero was followed by so great a scarcity in the city, especially in regard of corn, that the people assembled twice, and went so far as to throw stones at the consuls, and threatened to burn the temple of Concord, where the senate was at that time convened.

Clodius still increased the fury of the people, by publishing that Cicero was the author of this disorder. They asked corn of Cicero by night with great outcries, and in a violent manner asked it by day, at the very door of the senate-house. This obliged him to interest Pompey, and get him commissioned to order provisions for Rome, with an absolute authority both by sea and land, for five years. He could not better acquit himself of his obligations to Pompey, than by putting into his hands all the forces of the republic. His advice, supported by the present terror and necessity, was approved of. It was believed, and Clodius published it loudly, that this was the true cause of the dearness of corn, which had been concerted betwixt these two men. For plenty returned soon to Rome by the care of Pompey; but the authority was continued him for five years. In the mean time, if the victories of Cæsar acquired him a high reputation at Rome, his humanity and his other great qualities, assured him the heart and affection of the soldiers which he commanded. The cares of his conquests did not so much employ him, but that he thought of Rome. He sent rich presents to the ladies, and to those who were in public employments. All the volunteers who came into Gaul, were received by him with a thousand civilities, and returned charmed with his generosity. He returned to pass the winter in Italy, a great part of which, under the name of Cisalpine Gaul, was under his government. This is at present all Lombardy, which comprehends Piedmont, the Milanese, with

with the states of Venice in Italy; in fine as far as the river Rubicon. Pompey, Crassus, and almost all the magistrates of Rome, went to see him at Lucca, where he was at that time. In such sort that there were to the number of one hundred and twenty lictors who bore axes before the consuls, surrounded with a bundle of small sticks bound together with a scarlet bandage. This is what the Romans call their fasces. The consuls had twelve in their retinue, and thus other magistrates in proportion to their rank.

In this place the triumvirs took new measures, to confirm their union and strengthen their power. They resolved that Pompey and Crassus should ask the consulship for the following year, and continue the government to Cæsar for five other years. Thus their union, which clothed itself with the specious name of friendship, had not in reality for it's true end; any thing but private ambition; and thus we are not to wonder, if the same reason that united them at that time, divided them afterwards, when they thought themselves powerful enough to support their grandeur by their own strength. This resolution alarmed all the senate, who had any intentions for the good of the public. * Marcellinus, one of the new consuls, made a great noise about this matter, and asked Pompey and Crassus before the people, if they pretended to the consulship. Pompey answered haughtily: that he would act in that respect as he pleased. And Crassus with more modesty said: that he would do what he thought advantageous for the republic. The dispute, ac-

* Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.

according to custom, was carried on to downright fighting, and the senate ordered all should take mourning, as in a public calamity. Their strongest reason was, that the design of the two triumvirs shocked the disposition of the laws. Pompey thought of a remedy for this, which sufficiently shews the genius of ambition. He had received the last affronts from the behaviour of Clodius, in the affair of Ptolomy King of Egypt. This prince, driven from his states by his rebellious subjects, came to Rome to implore assistance, and the employment was much sought for by the great men; for Ptolomy offered very considerable sums. Lentulus, who was consul, and Pompey were the warmest in the undertaking, and their interest by far the strongest. Clodius, who loved neither of them, opposed their design. Thus when the people were assembled on this subject, he came followed by his mob, which Cicero calls the workmen of Clodius. He gave them this name perhaps because they helped in pulling down his house. This riotous people interrupted the discourse of Pompey by great outcries. To retaliate upon them; when Clodius had a mind to speak, Pompey's party made the same noise; and they sung very offensive satyrical verses, against Clodius and his sister. Clodius revenged himself upon the spot: and very pleasantly. For he begun to ask the persons of his party, who was the most effeminate general in the city? and they answered, Pompey. Who was the man who was enamoured of all other men's wives? Pompey. Who made the people die of hunger? Pompey.

Pompey. Who wished to take a journey into Egypt? Pompey. And when they were asked, what person they would send thither? they answered, Crassus. This last made interest in private, notwithstanding their pretended friendship. He had for him, Clodius among the people, and Cato in the senate. Clodius made himself be well paid for his trouble, but Cato proceeded with sincerity, and did not oppose himself to Pompey but on account of a Sybil oracle, which said, "that a king should come from Egypt to ask assistance of Rome; that they were to receive him as a friend; but not send him back with their troops." Cato had a great struggle with Pompey on this subject, and Pompey after having hinted at Crassus, without naming him, said that his life was aimed at; but that he would preserve it better than the young Scipio did his, who was privately murdered by Carbo*. In a word, Pompey was roughly handled in all this affair, and he was provoked to fury against Clodius. This had happened before the interview at Lucca; but Pompey seeing that he had need of the people, and Clodius having a design to ask the employment of edile, their mutual interests made them forget the subjects of their hatred and division. Pompey promised Clodius to support his petition, and Clodius in favour of Pompey hindered the comitia or assemblies to be held for the election of magistrates (for thus those meetings of the people were called, when they chose their public officers.) Their design was to reduce the

* Papirius Carbo.

state of Rome, to what was called an interregnum. In such a circumstance, as they could not chuse consuls, the most illustrious of the senate governed each in his turn; they had the power amongst them to name consuls, when they were sufficiently agreed; and as the nature of such an affair was extraordinary, they dispensed with themselves from following the regular course of the laws. The thing succeeded according to his intention. Domitius presented himself alone to the people, assisted by Cato his brother-in-law, to enter into an opposition against the two triumvirs. But as they had already filled the forum with those soldiers which the young Crassus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, had brought expressly out of Gaul, a slave of Domitius's, who happened to be carrying a flambeau before him, was killed upon the spot. He had a difficulty to save himself, and Cato was wounded in his arm. Thus Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls*. But Pompey was loaded as he deserved, with all the hatred of this unjust and violent proceeding.

* Year of Rome 698.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IX.

Pompey and Crassus procure themselves governments. Causes of the division betwixt Cæsar and Pompey.

WE leave the detail of a number of lesser things, that passed at Rome during the five last years of the government of Cæsar, which have no connection with this subject. Besides all repetition is tedious, and any one may imagine to himself by what he has read already, the divided interests, factions, disputes, and bloody massacres, at publick elections. We shall only say in general, and without observing the order of time, that Pompey acquitted himself of what he had promised to Clodius, at the very peril of his life; for in a great assembly at the election of ediles, there was a man killed so near him, that his gown was all covered with blood. He revenged himself likewise on Cato by a singular disgrace, when this senator was asking the prætorship. Pompey made him be excluded, and got Vatinius to be named in his place, who was the vilest abandoned man, and the most exposed to public odium of all Rome. After this he caused king Ptolomy to be re-established by Gabinius with great forces, by his own private authority, in spite of the Sybil's oracle. Gabinius was prosecuted for this action as soon as he returned to Rome; but by his money and the favour of Pompey, he saved himself

himself from a condemnation in the senate, which he could never have avoided for his male administrations. These things, as any one may see, have no relation with a civil war, but inasmuch as they shew the credit and ambition of Pompey, which will discover themselves more fully hereafter, when we come to treat of the subject. Both Crassus and he affected a great moderation, in regard of those governments which custom gave them at their departing from their consulships. But they employed underhand the tribunes of the people, who proposed for them Syria, Spain with Africk, or Lybia as they then called it. They joined to these two governments numerous armies, with a power of making peace or war, as they should judge necessary. This was what gave opportunity to the friends of Cæsar, to require that his government might be continued to him for five years; and all this was granted by the senate, through the measures taken betwixt the triumvirs. Thus their union subsisted still in appearance, tho' it was already ruined in the bottom of their hearts; at least between Pompey and Cæsar. And we need not seek for any other reasons, but of that jealousy which emulation produced between these two great men. Pompey saw himself for several years in possession of the first rank of honor, and to say the truth with a great deal of merit. He had extended the Roman empire further than any other. He had triumphed over the three parts of the world; over Africk, by the defeat of Domitius in Lybia; over Europe, by the overthrow of Perpenna in Spain; and over Asia,

Asia, by the entire conquest of king Mithridates, one of the most dreadful enemies the Romans ever had : and all this without the least disgrace from fortune. In this high point of glory, he looked upon all the other Romans as his inferiors ; and in reality they willingly gave him place. Thus knowing the merit of Cæsar, and the advantages which his illustrious birth and eloquence gave him, he saw with a great deal of regret, that his great actions in the wars of Gaul, were going to put him in a condition of disputing with himself the glory which he had acquired by arms. On the other side Cæsar having received from nature and education all those qualities which form a great man, had entertained those sentiments in his bosom, which made him suffer with pain the greater brightness of another. And thus as soon as ever he could employ his talents, he made so good an use of them, that he found himself soon in a capacity of forcing from Pompey that advantage, which he thought he had over all the other Romans. Fortune favoured his designs as she had done those of Pompey : but she abandoned Crassus, who had no less pretensions than either of them. He was defeated and killed in the war with the Parthians. And the death of this triumvir, who might have kept in the other two, left the wide field open for them to give full reins to their ambition in all its violence.

C H A P. X.

Death of Julia wife of Pompey, who exhibits very magnificent games before the people. Death of Clodius.

THERE was some time past since Pompey had diminished, as much as was possible for him, the lustre of Caesar's conquests, and had obliged the magistrates not to publish them, till the glory of them was obscured by disadvantageous reports. This conduct caused sorrow in all those who foresaw the calamities, that might happen by the divisions of these two men. The death of Julia, Pompey's wife, that happened at this time, increased the concern of the public. Pompey loved her extremely, and this consideration alone, without doubt would have been powerful enough to have hindered those differences between the father-in-law and his son; for Julia had no less ingenuity than virtue, and an absolute power over their minds. The Roman people shewed the respect which they had for her, by public demonstrations of sorrow. And when Pompey had a mind to carry her body to one of his houses near Alba, the people opposed it, and carried her body into the field of Mars, where they paid the last duties to her with a wonderful magnificence. From this time Pompey turned his thoughts entirely to the establishing his own power. And to regain the favour of the people, he erected a grand theatre which

which he dedicated by games, and other spectacles of an extraordinary splendor; but which no ways pleased Cicero, who makes a jest of it in his letters. He says likewise that an accident which happened, caused a great compassion in the people; and it fell out in this manner. Among other battles of wild beasts, there were eighteen elephants fought with by armed men. A part of the elephants died in the battle; and the others being wounded, flung themselves upon the ground, and raising their trunks seemed to ask pity of the spectators. The people being moved, raised great shouts of pity, and would absolutely have them taken away. They published likewise at Rome, that this theatre was not built at the expence of Pompey; but that Demetrius, one of his freed-men, had been at all the charge, by a kind of restitution of those immense riches which he had acquired under his master. Thus Pompey did not draw much satisfaction from this popular vanity, and the minds of the people were still more irritated, by the violence which he used in raising troops to follow Crassus. It was at this time, that this general departed for his unhappy expedition against the Parthians. It was not approved of at Rome, and even one of the tribunes strenuously opposed it. And as he could not hinder it, he gave his malediction to Crassus by horrible imprecations. This expedition proved very unfortunate, and cost the Romans one hundred thousand men, and Crassus and his son their lives, the latter of whom Cicero speaks of as a very brave and virtuous man. In the mean time Pompey, whose employment

employment was expired, took other measures, and pretended that these displeasures obliged him to retire from the government of the republic. It then fell into a horrible disorder. The intrigues for public employments came to such an outrageous excess, that it was known at an election of the ediles, that the candidates had deposited the sum of eight hundred talents, to buy up votes, and the city of Rome was eight months intire without magistrates. As the fury, or rather madness of these factions, under the names of Clodius and Milo, filled the streets every day with murders, none durst go from their doors almost without arms. This gave opportunity to the partisans of Pompey to insinuate that his retreat was prejudicial to the public; and propose his being recalled, and even made dictator. Pompey expressed himself more modestly. He said only to those who spoke of it, that the republic had need of the authority of a wise and moderate man. The death of Clodius, which happened at this time, encreased the necessity. As this accident is differently related, and Cicero has disguised it with all the art and colours of eloquence, we will say of it what has appeared to us the most probable. Milo made interest for the consulship, and Clodius pretended to the prætorship at the same time. And as these two men were incompatible in these charges, they sought one another's ruine and destruction by all sorts of methods. Milo was necessarily to go to Lavinium, whose dictator he was; for this end he departed from Rome in a chaise, with his wife and retinue; but well guarded

guarded by a great number of faithful slaves. He must necessarily pass by a country seat that belonged to Clodius. Milo met him near this house, on horseback and well accompanied. The quarrel begun by their slaves, who had oftentimes been engaged in such sort of frays. Milo immediately leaped upon the ground with sword in hand, and defended himself vigorously. But Clodius in the press received a blow on the head, which brought him to the ground. He was immediately carried off by his slaves to his house, where Milo entered near the same time. They * say it was to make his excuse; but this appears ridiculous betwixt two men, pushed on by inveterate principles of such violent hatred. It seems more probable, this visit was to see the state of his wound, or perhaps to finish it. In effect when he saw him expiring he returned to Rome, to soften the dispositions of the people. The people received this news with a sensible sorrow, Clodius being greatly loved by them. Thus when his body was brought to Rome, by the care of his brother Appian, and Rufus † and Plancus ‡ tribunes had made it be exposed all bloody in the forum, the commotion became terrible. They ran to the house of Milo to set fire to it. He repulsed the mutineers, and killed some of them. The rest returned with fury to the same place, where they pulled in pieces the benches, made a huge funeral pile, and set fire to it with such a rage and transport, that a magnificent building, where the senate used to assemble, was burnt to the ground with the

* Appian.

† Vibullius.

‡ Munatius.

body of Clodius. The seditious then spread themselves over all the city; where under the pretence of seeking for the friends of Milo, they committed strange outrages. Milo acted on this occasion with his usual haughtiness. He sent for out of the country, a great number of slaves for the security of his person, and had the intrepidity to present himself to the people, to be judged before them. Cicilius one of the tribunes, who was to have been his accuser, had private intelligence with Milo, who was well assured of his judges; but the people became more headstrong than ever. They attacked the banditti of Milo, who had a great deal of difficulty to save himself with Cicilius, and murders and massacres began again all over the city.

CHAP. XI.

Pompey is chosen consul alone. Cæsar makes sure of the favour of the Roman people.

THE abovementioned transactions had happened under the consulship of Domitius* Calvinus, and Valerius Messala. For Pompey perceiving the name of dictator was very odious to the people, had got them elected; and had confined himself to the authority the senate had

* Year of Rome 790. There were two families who bore the name of Domitius, the surname of one Enobarbus, and the other Calvinus.

given him, of establishing the security of magistrates and public judgments, by those troops with which he was to be assisted; but this did not appease the disorder. * Scipio, Hypsius, and even Milo, pretended all to the consulship, and made their interest accordingly by the dint of arms. Thus they saw every day three armies in the forum. Milo, whose violences made him hated, was at length accused in earnest by Appius; and tho' Cicero had undertaken his defence, yet the fear of Pompey's soldiers, who hemmed him in while he was pleading, made him forget his eloquent oration; and the imprudent insolence of Milo, who appeared with a threatening air before his judges, made him be condemned. He was therefore banished, and they say that Cicero having sent him that oration which we still have of his, and which passes for his master-piece: "Milo writ him back, " that he thought himself happy that Cicero's " memory had failed him, because without that " he had never lived so well at Marseilles:" this was the place of his banishment.

The friends of Pompey renewed again their solicitations. One might see clearly in the senate, that the republic explained itself sufficiently in favour of Pompey; but they dreaded a dictator. Cato found the expedient of granting him the power, but under a softer name, and Pompey was chosen sole consul. They granted him new troops, and a thousand talents a year to maintain them; his government of Spain was continued to him for four years

* Cornelius,

longer,

longer, with power of sending lieutenants in his place. He supported himself still more by an illustrious alliance which he made with the house of the Scipio's, by marrying Cornelia, who was no less amiable for the charms of her mind, than for the beauty of her person. She played very finely on several musical instruments; was no stranger to polite literature and philosophy, and had some acquaintance with the most difficult sciences, such as geometry and mathematics, but all this without affectation, or drawing any vanity from these rare qualities. Pompey thought now that he had nothing more to fear, and that he might overthrow easily the fortune of Cæsar, who thought no less on his side of securing his power. Some tribunes of the people had proposed to him the being chosen consul with Pompey; but he writ to them, desiring they would preserve their good will towards him for the design which he had of asking the second consulship, when his employment should be ended. In the mean time to gain the favour of the people, he begun to build a market-place at Rome, the ground of which cost one hundred thousand sesterces *, and he treated all the citizens with games and a public feast, in gratitude for the honor which they had paid to his daughter Julia. They dressed in his own palace, all the preparation for this grand entertainment. He likewise desired the Roman knights and senators that were his friends, to instruct and exercise the gladiators; and he sent them rules on this subject, giving express orders that those

* Great.

gladiators who did not please the people in fighting should immediately be removed, and others put in their places. A certain air of grandeur, which always draws after it respect, his boundless generosity, and his great actions, had in such a degree gained the affection of the soldiers, that they loved him even to idolatry and adoration. He doubled their pay, and the corn, which used to be distributed among the troops in certain quantities, was given them without measure. Besides, several senators were obliged to him for considerable sums, which he lent them without interest. He treated with the last magnificence, all those who served under him, even to the meanest slaves who shewed an affection towards him, and his army was a certain asylum for criminals of courage, or persons loaded with debts. He oftentimes paid them with his own money; but to those who were engaged for immense sums, he used to say that a civil war would disengage them at once. In fine, foreign princes and the most powerful cities, received marks of his magnificence and generosity, by considerable presents. All this was done at the expence of the Gauls. Thus it was not without reason what some said; that he subjected Gaul by the steel of the Romans, and the Romans, by the gold of the Gauls. The friends of Pompey did not fail to make great reflections upon the motives of these liberalities, and exaggerate the danger that threatened the republic. Yet Cæsar still endeavoured to preserve the friendship of Pompey. He offered to him before his last marriage, Octavia, the grand-daughter of his sister, and

asked for himself a daughter of Pompey's. But the latter preferring the alliance of Scipio, associated with his father-in-law in the dignity of consul for the last five months; and as he knew that Cæsar was beloved by the people, he put himself in the interest of the senate. These two factions were opposite at all times, under the names of nobility and people. This opposition had produced terrible effects; especially in the sedition of the Gracchi, and afterwards in the wars of Marius * and Sylla †. The people were superior in number, but the senate prevailed by authority. And it was this union of Pompey with the senate, which made Cæsar's party so decry'd; and made some write to the advantage of Pompey with so much passion, that under the government of one of his most terrible successors, Nero, Lucan was not afraid to publish a work which we have still, wherein he tears to pieces outrageously the memory of this great man.

C H A P. XII.

Pompey's laws. Curio passes over to the interest of Cæsar.

THE first public proof of their division came from the part of Pompey, by two laws which he made in his consulship. The first regarded an inquiry to be made into the mal-

* Caius Marius.

† Cornelius,

admini-

administrations of great officers in the exercise of their employments, for the space of twenty years backwards; that is to say, from his first consulship, down to that which he exercised at that time. The friends of Cæsar remonstrated, that this law might offend several illustrious persons; and above all Cæsar, who had been consul. At this name Pompey cried out, that they did him injustice to believe that this regulation regarded a man of the merit and virtue of Cæsar, and their suspicions were even censorious of their own friend. In the mean time, he changed nothing of his conduct; and several persons were condemned in consequence of this law, amongst others Hypsius, Memmius, Sextus, and Gabinius himself. But when Memmius, in his turn, accused Scipio the father-in-law of Pompey, he was not ashamed to solicit himself against a law of which he was the author, and saved Scipio by his sole authority. The other law made by Pompey, which was perhaps but an article of the preceding, signified, that no regard should be had to the absent in their petitions for public employments. These laws, upon their reception, were engraved upon tables of brass, and carried to the public treasury. After this formality it was not permitted to make any change. However, Pompey did not fail to put in an exception in favour of Cæsar; but because it was against the forms, Marcus* Marcellus, who had succeeded in the consulship to Pompey, without having any regard for this exception,

* Clodius. He was not of the patrician Clodii, but of the plebeian.

and after having admonished the public, that he was going to treat of an affair of the last importance, proposed the giving a successor to Cæsar, since the conquest of Gaul was finished; and at the same time, exclude him from the pursuit of the consulship. This declaration put all the friends of Cæsar in an uproar. Servius Sulpitius the other consul was of a contrary sentiment; and the tribunes, Caius Cælius, and Vibius Pansa, opposed this decree. Pompey did not yet explain himself clearly upon this subject. He said this was to do an injury to Cæsar, to propose this affair before the * calends of March, because the time of his government did not expire before that day. And when they asked him, how they should act, if there should still be found some opposition? "It matters not," says "he, whether Cæsar obey then the decree of the senate, or find persons to oppose it." But replied they, in pressing him. "If he will be consul or retain his army?" But Pompey answers, "if my son should lose his respect so far as to outrage me, what would you counsel me to do?" This discourse shewed the sentiments of Pompey in regard of Cæsar. In the mean time, the affair was drawn on by continual intrigues to the election of new consuls, which were † *Emilius Paulus*, and *Calidius Marcellus*, a relation of *Marcus*. This affair employed the whole senate, and put a stop to all other business. They waited with impatience the motion of the new consuls. The first was gained over by a sum of fifteen hundred talents, which Cæsar

* The first of that month. † *Clodius*.

gave him, and which he employed in building a grand palace, which bore his name. Calidius, an enemy of Cæsar's, and pushed on by the same spirit as Marcus's relation, followed likewise the same methods, and renewed all those propositions disadvantageous to Cæsar. We have already spoke of the privileges of the tribunes of the people, who were to the number of ten. Curio and Marc Antony were tribunes this year, and Curio was highly esteemed for his birth and great parts. Curio was one of the most distinguished geniuses, at that time, which Rome had, for eloquence and pleading at the bar. He had studied the world, and was enterprising, but loaded with debts, as well in his own name, as in the names of his friends; and amongst others, he had been security for Marc Antony. He had been one of the warmest against the interest of Cæsar; but the latter being acquainted with his foible, knew how to bring him over to his own party, by furnishing him with means to acquit himself honorably to his creditors. Curio acted a very prudent part. He did not declare himself openly for Cæsar, to the end that he might penetrate into the most hidden conduct of his enemies; after which he sought for an opportunity of quarrelling with Pompey. In this design he petitioned for the employment of surveyor of the high-ways, which he knew they would not grant him, and upon a refusal he expressed, in the strongest terms, his discontent. Thus when the consul made his report to the senate, concerning the governments, he praised

very highly his zeal and his sentiments: adding, that to preserve a balance of power, it was necessary that Pompey and Cæsar should be recalled at the same time.

CH A P. XIII.

Curio declares himself against Pompey. Cæsar restores the legions that Pompey had lent him.

THE minds of that age were too much enlightened, not to comprehend immediately the motive of this proposition. Curio immediately pulled upon himself all the friends of Pompey. * Appius, one of the censors, whose authprity Pompey had re-established, threatned to banish him from the senate, and proposed this in that assembly. Curio submitted to what should be ordered in his own particular, but he intermitted nothing of his zeal for Cæsar; and the consul Paulus hindered that affront which they had designed him. Curio communicated to the people his proposition, it was received with so great a joy, they they covered him with flowers, and accompanied him to his own house. It appears, that after this the people ordered that Cæsar, tho' absent, might demand the consulship; this obliged Pompey to quit Rome, under pretence of going to his government. But he stopped at one of

* Clodius.

his country-seats, where falling sick, he wrote to the senate that he was ready to give up his employments as soon as Cæsar would quit his; which he gave them new assurances of on his return to Rome. Curio spoke on this occasion, and said, that he ought to begin by depriving himself, and that he would answer in the name of Cæsar, that he should follow his example. This affair was brought into debate, but nothing was concluded upon it.

It was ordered only, that they should draw out two legions from the troops of Cæsar and Pompey, to march into Syria against the Parthians. This was to weaken the army of Cæsar, to whom Pompey at the beginning of the war had lent one of his legions. Appius was sent to Gaul to draw them off, and oblige Cæsar to give up one of his own. Tho' he clearly understood the reason of this decree, he did not oppose it. He gave the legions to Appius, and ordered two hundred and fifty drachma's to every soldier. Cicero returned about this time to Rome, from his government of Cilicia, where he pretended he had deserved the honor of a triumph for his exploits. His absence had hindered him from taking part in these factions, and these pretensions of his obliged him to become mediator between the two parties. He made some proposals of an accommodation, which were not received, upon the return of Appius with the legions. This man published, that Cæsar had lost the affection of his troops; that he knew all their sentiments, and that they would come over to the senate's party, when

they once saw themselves on this side the Alps. This discourse gave great confidence to Pompey. He rejected all sorts of accommodation, Cicero was no more listened to, and when he asked of Pompey what troops he had to oppose to those of Cæsar, if by chance the report of Appius should not prove true; Pompey answered, that he need but stamp upon the ground, and the earth of itself would produce compleat armies for him. Several of the senators did not speak of Cæsar but with contempt: Cato published loudly, that he would make him give an account of his actions, and that they would treat him in the same manner as they had done Milo.

C H. A. P. XIV.

Cæsar writes to the senate, who declare war against him. Antony and Curio, two tribunes of the people, retire to Cæsar.

CÆSAR had written several times before to the senate, to pray them to have some regard to the services he had done the republic. He proposed to them an alternative, either to continue to him his government, as they had to Pompey; or permit him to pursue in his absence the dignity of consul. As this proposition was rejected, he still desired that the sentiment of Curio might be followed. In fine, by his last letters,

letters, he confined himself to the government of Illyrium, with two legions; and Cicero supported this proposition in favor of peace. All this orator's endeavours, as it has been said before, were rendered useless, and Cæsar, upon the news which he received of the bad success of all his pretensions, repassed the Alps with the third legion, and stopped at Ravennæ; from this place he sent Fabius, one of his lieutenants, with letters to the consuls. These were * Cornelius Lentulus, and Clodius Marcellus, elected a little while before. Lentulus refused to read these letters, but Marc Antony and Cassius Longinus, tribunes of the people, obliged him at length to a rehearsal of them before the senate.

“ They contained a detail or history of the
 “ services of Cæsar, and an assurance of his
 “ disbanding his troops, as soon as Pompey
 “ should have done the same. Lentulus would
 “ not have them debate upon these letters.
 “ He only said to the senators, that he would
 “ serve the republic at the peril of his life, if
 “ there was shewn a general vigor on this oc-
 “ casion; but if he saw them backward and
 “ effeminate, he should know as well as another
 “ how to make his peace with Cæsar. Scipio
 “ said afterwards, that Pompey was ready to
 “ sacrifice himself for the interest of the senate,
 “ if they would follow him; but if their deli-
 “ berations were either slow or timid, they
 “ might seek to no purpose his assistance, if so
 “ favorable an opportunity was let pass away.”
 Tho' Pompey was out of Rome at this time,

on having * Year of Rome 704. 707-708

because they who commanded troops could not reside in the city; yet as Scipio was his father-in-law, and entirely in his interest, this admonition, says Cæsar, seemed to come from the mouth of Pompey himself. Other senators gave their opinions more modestly. Amongst others Marcellus, Sulpitius, Rufus, and Calidius himself, were of opinion that Pompey should go to his government, to take away all umbrage from Cæsar for believing, that these two legions, which were retained at Rome, were designed to oppress him. Lentulus refused to make a report of this, and put himself into an extraordinary passion against Calidius and the others. At length the decree was drawn up, by the advice of Scipio, in these terms; “that Cæsar should
“disband his troops in a certain time, and if
“he did not obey, he would thereby declare
“himself an enemy of the republic.” Antony and Cassius opposed this decree. This opposition produced new disputes, which were carried on by both parties with great acrimony, in such sort that the assembly did not break up till very late. The night was employed in intrigues, betwixt Pompey amongst his friends, and Curio among the other tribunes. Upon this, Piso censor, and Roscius prætor, asked six days time to go to Cæsar, and inform him of the state of things. This was refused them. At length, Lentulus, after having ordered the tribunes to go out of the senate, pronounced the decree, which was never made but in extreme danger:
“that the consuls and other magistrates should
“take care, that the republic received no da-
“mage.”

“mage.” Afterwards Marcellus, the other consul, took a sword, which he carried publicly to Pompey, who was out of the city, and spoke to him these words: “I order you, in the name of the senate, to assist the republic with those troops which you now command, and to raise new ones with all possible diligence.” From the same time they gave a successor to Cæsar, who was Domitius, designed consul for the following year. They disposed of the other governments. Of which, Scipio had Syria; and every one took up arms in Rome, and appeared in a military dress. Cæsar was soon informed of this by Curio, Antony and Longinus, who retired to him in disguise, and cloathed in the habit of slaves. He shewed them in this condition to his troops, and taking the occasion which the indiscretion of his enemies offered him, in shewing their injustice and violence, said to the whole assembly: “You see here persons who were always esteemed sacred, obliged to hide themselves in the dress of slaves, that they might avoid the fury of my enemies. And all this for using a privilege which the laws grant them, and which Sylla, who respected no other, never dared to violate. Pompey, who boasts of having re-established these privileges, has deprived these persons of them with so much the more injustice and ingratitude, as it was for maintaining the interest of a friend, who had always consulted his. But he acts not by his own free motion; and one may clearly see he is pushed on by the violence of my enemies. He added, that this

“ violence appeared in their decree, which was
 “ never given but when the republic was in the
 “ utmost hazard, either by the fury of tribunes
 “ or the sedition of the people : which had not
 “ happened in this case. Lastly tearing his robe
 “ of state, and even shedding tears, he conjured
 “ his soldiers to defend his honor and dignity,
 “ after having served nine years under his con-
 “ duct with a moderate share at least of success
 “ and glory. The soldiers cried out to a man,
 “ with the last eagerness, that they were ready
 “ to revenge in the blood of their enemies, the
 “ injuries done to the general and the tribunes.”

CH A P. XV.

Passage of the Rubicon, and taking of Rimini.

AMONGST all the great qualifications, which Cæsar had for war, his diligence in preventing the enemy, and his activeness in pursuing his advantages after a conquest, are particularly admired. He surprised others a hundred times, but never was surprised himself; and never gained a victory, but he remained quiet master of the field of battle. He knew perfectly the importance and necessity of this diligence, and the glare which the first exploits give to the reputation of a party. To add secrecy to his resolution, he sent chosen centurions and soldiers, with their swords only, to throw themselves
 without

without noise into Rimini *, which was the first town beyond his government. For himself, he passed the day in viewing in public, certain games and combats of gladiators at Ravennæ. When the night was come on, he sat down at table with his friends; and rose up some time after, desiring them to continue, because he would come again in a moment. But this was by no means his design. They had taken, by his order, certain mules from a neighbouring mill, which they tied to a chaise, wherein he advanced towards Rimini, with those friends who had his greatest confidence, and a select guard of soldiers. The journey was troublesome, and they even mistook their way. Finally, partly on foot, partly in the chaise, Cæsar arrived upon the brink of the Rubicon †, which is a little river, which separates Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy. In this place the misfortunes, bloodshed and horror of the war, presented themselves in the most lively manner to his mind. He was for some time lost in thought, and turning of a sudden to Pollio ‡: “we have, says he, still a possibility of a return. But if we pass this river, we must make our way by the dint of arms.” Some authors, and even Suetonius himself, relate a prodigy that happened to him on this occasion, and finished his determination. It was perhaps to signalize this famous passage of the Rubicon, by something of an extraordinary invention that this story was invented; but

* Ariminum. † This river is at present named
Pisatello, and runs by Rimini. ‡ Asinius Pollio.

whatever was the real fact, we ought not to omit it. Pretty near to this place, appeared on a sudden, a man of an extraordinary size, who played very competently on a flute. The novelty of the spectacle drew some soldiers, and amongst the rest one of Caesar's trumpeters. When they had approached this man, he seized on the trumpet, and giving in a horrible tone the signal of battle, he flung himself into the river, and passed the first to the other side. They do not say what became of him, but only that Caesar did not stop a moment; passing the river, with this exhortation to his soldiers: "Let us proceed, my brave companions, since the Gods encourage us by those evident miracles, and lead us where the rage of our enemies oblige us to go, the die is cast; and our lives are staked upon it." From hence, without staying the least instant, he went with all speed to Rimini, which he seized upon without any resistance. Thus with six thousand men only, he begun this famous war. And after having made sure of so strong a place, he sent orders to all his troops to march to him, with all possible diligence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Astonishment of the Senators. They leave Rome, and retire to Capua.

SO quick and unforeseen a motion, cast all Rome into a terrible consternation. They thought Cæsar was already at the gates with his army; and it was a strange confusion to see country persons retiring into the city, and citizens flying into the country. They were under a difficulty of chusing their party; and Cicero himself allows, that Pompey had taken no precautions; that nothing was ready to oppose Cæsar; and that they had neither troops nor places of refuge. Cicero was not the least perplexed, and his disquiet appears in all the letters which he writes upon this subject. "Should I continue here, says he, I should not think it a shame to accompany Lepidus *, Volcatius, and Sulpitius, for not one of them is more rash than Domitius †, or more inconstant than Appius. But Pompey draws me after him by the obligations which I have to him, and not by his authority. For what authority can a man deserve, who was devoted to Cæsar, while we all were in fear of him; and now imagines, since he is become apprehensive himself, that every body will declare themselves against him?" It is

* Emilius. They stayed at Rome. † They had followed Pompey.

thus that Cicero draws, in a few words, the portrait of Pompey, and of all his party, whilst he made interest with Cæsar, by means of Dolabella and some other friends; and Cælius, whose letters shew a very agreeable wit, lay down for him as a maxim: “that in popular
 “divisions among citizens, as long as the dispute is carried on by harangues, we ought to
 “join ourselves to the juster party; but as soon
 “as the animosity turns to arms, we ought
 “without hesitation to take the strongest side;
 “and believe, that what is the most secure, is
 “also the most honorable.” Pompey, for his part, did not suffer less chagrine in this perplexity: all those of his party reproached him with having deceived them. They asked of him perpetually, where were his troops, and Favonius, in whom philosophy and an indiscreet desire of imitating Cato, had almost turned his head, said to him: “it was high time for him
 “to strike the ground with his foot, if they
 “were ever to see the armed harvest he had
 “promised them.” At length, Pompey saw himself obliged to say to them: “that soldiers
 “would not fail him, if they themselves would
 “but follow him, and leave Rome, or even
 “Italy, which they could not defend; that it
 “was neither their houses or provinces, which
 “inspired the love of virtue and liberty, but
 “that men of honor found every where a retreat, and soon put themselves in a condition
 “of returning to their houses with glory, if
 “they continued but united amongst themselves.” This discourse, and the affection
 which

which they had for Pompey, made them resolve at length to quit the city; for tho' they complained of his conduct, yet they could not resolve to hate him. Thus the consuls, and almost all the senate followed him to Capua, where the two legions were that Cæsar had sent him from Gaul. The action of Labienus contributed still to give them courage. He was one of Cæsar's lieutenants, who had served in Gaul with a deal of reputation, and Cæsar had a value for him; but when his exploits, and the riches he had heaped up gave him too much vanity, Cæsar, made him know, that he was his general, and he could not suffer a competitor. This is what obliged Labienus to change his party; but though his desertion made a great noise, yet it brought little benefit to the opposite side. He was no longer esteemed by persons of reputation, and did nothing of moment in the wars that followed. Though this example was dangerous in the beginning of a war of this nature, yet Cæsar, either out of policy or greatness of soul, made so little account of it, that he sent to Labienus all his money and equipage. Pompey applied himself after this, to give some order to his affairs, and resolved to retire further from the city. He left Lucius Domitius in Corfinium*, and Cicero was to command in Capua. He received this commission with great repugnancy; but as they left him neither money nor troops, he clearly foresaw that this employment would never embroil him with Cæsar.

* At present Colle Corvino.

C H A P. XVII.

Propositions of peace betwixt Cæsar and Pompey without any effect.

HE was still at Rimini, where Lucius Cæsar his relation, whose father served in his troops, came to meet him with Roscius. After some discourses about other affairs, Lucius said to Cæsar: “ that Pompey had employed him to
 “ pay his compliments to Cæsar, and pray him
 “ to do him justice in regard of what had past;
 “ that he should have a sensible regret, if Cæsar
 “ thought himself offended by what he had done
 “ out of a consideration for the good of the re-
 “ public; that his maxim had always been, to
 “ prefer the public good before his private;
 “ that it belonged likewise to Cæsar’s love of
 “ glory, to sacrifice his resentments to the quiet
 “ of his country; and not to push him so far,
 “ as while he would revenge himself on his
 “ enemies, to shake the whole fabric of the re-
 “ public.” Roscius made almost the same dis-
 course to him by the orders of Pompey. These civilities, that had nothing essential in them, did not affect Cæsar much. He resolved notwithstanding to explain his sentiments to them, and said: “ that since they were charged with the
 “ orders of Pompey, he desired they would
 “ carry to him some proposals on his part;
 “ above all he desired them to appease these
 “ great troubles, and deliver all Italy from fear;
 “ that

“ that he had always less considered the pre-
 “ servation of his own life, than the honor,
 “ good, and glory of the republic. But that
 “ he could not see without grief, that his ene-
 “ mies, by the mere motive of hatred and con-
 “ tempt of him, had taken from him those fa-
 “ vors which the Roman people had bestowed
 “ upon him ; that they had designed to cut off
 “ six months of his government, to draw him
 “ to Rome in spite of the people, who had de-
 “ clared, that though he was absent, he should
 “ be considered as present in those assemblies
 “ which were made for the election of consuls ;
 “ that he had suffered this indignity out of a
 “ consideration for the public tranquillity ; that
 “ he had desired by his letters, that all the ge-
 “ nerals should lay down their arms, without
 “ being able to prevail in so just a petition ; on
 “ the contrary, they were raising troops all
 “ over Italy ; that they had kept the two legions
 “ which they had drawn from him, under the
 “ deceitful pretence of sending them against the
 “ Parthians ; that the whole city was in arms ;
 “ and all this with no other design than to ruin
 “ him : but yet, that he was disposed to run
 “ any hazard, and suffer even affronts in favor
 “ of the republic ; that Pompey should retire
 “ to his own government ; that the senators
 “ should dismiss their troops, and arms be laid
 “ down all over Italy ; that Rome should be
 “ kept no longer in fear ; and that they should
 “ leave to their public assemblies, their ancient
 “ liberties. In fine, that all authority should
 “ be lodged in the senate, and the Roman
 “ people.

“ ple. To this discourse Cæsar added, that mat-
 “ ters would be better terminated by an inter-
 “ view betwixt Pompey and him ; because they
 “ might then agree about the form of this mu-
 “ tual security, and receive from one another
 “ the sanction of religious oaths.” Roscius and
 Lucius returned to Capua with these proposi-
 tions, and reported them to the consuls and
 Pompey. It was debated, and they writ back
 in these terms. That Cæsar should return into
 Gaul ; that he should quit Rimini, and dismiss
 his troops. After this Pompey would depart
 for Spain. That they would continue the new
 levies, till Cæsar had given them full security
 that he would execute these orders with absolute
 sincerity.

C H A P. XVIII.

*Progress of Cæsar. He seizes on An-
 cona. Siege of Corfinium.*

IT was not the desire of peace which caused
 this intercourse. The affair was too perplex-
 ed, and their hatred too inveterate, to give room
 for a sincere accommodation. Pompey had no-
 thing in view but to gain time, and had a pow-
 erful resource in the assistance of the oriental
 troops which were all in his interest. And Cæ-
 sar supported by the valour and affection of his
 soldiers had no design of laying down his arms ;
 but only to have it believed that he had taken
 them

them up with justice, his proposals being in the nature of a manifesto. In a word, as * a great politician of that age said, "they might have agreed very easily; but it was not their intention, for every one proposed to himself a kingdom." Cæsar found no reason for his obeying the senate, who would have obliged him to retire, give up a good place, and dismiss his troops while Pompey continued in arms, went on with his levies, and no certain day was appointed for his departure into Egypt. He therefore resolved to act without losing any longer time. He sent Antony to Aretium with five cohorts to raise new forces.

In the mean time he seized on Pisaurum, Fanum and Ancona. And upon the advice he received, that the prætor Thurmus was at Furrinum with five of Pompey's cohorts, he sent Curio thither with three of his own. At the arrival of Curio the inhabitants rose up in arms, and forced Thurmus out of the town, whose troops disbanded of themselves. In fine, all the Picenum voluntarily submitted itself to Cæsar. This progress redoubled the frights at Rome, whither Lentulus was returned to take the money out of the public treasury. But upon the noise of Cæsar's sudden arrival, he left the treasury open, and fled away with Marcellus and several others. In the mean time, the twelfth legion came to join itself with Cæsar, who was marching his troops to Ascolum, which Lentulus was possessed of with ten cohorts. He waited not the approach of Cæsar, but retired with pre-

* Cicero,

cipitation. A part of his soldiers disbanded likewise, the rest joined themselves to Vibullius Rufus, who was getting together some new forces, and went with them to join Domitius Aenobarbus at Corfinium, whom Cicero makes mention of, and was designed to succeed Cæsar. This man was of an illustrious family, though it was but originally in the order of the people; but the exalted merits of his ancestors had made it be received amongst the patricii. He was of an odd, inconstant temper, a haughty and savage nature, if we may use the expression, which was the character of all his family, and from which Nero did not degenerate, who was his descendant. He had in Corfinium twenty cohorts of new raised troops, with about twelve which Rufus had brought him, and he resolved to wait for Cæsar with these forces.

As this place had been the first which had dared to oppose Cæsar, all waited with impatience to see the event of this enterprize. Cæsar approached with two legions. And there was a skirmish at a bridge about three miles from the city, which was guarded by five cohorts. They were driven from their post, and pursued to the very gates of Corfinium, which Cæsar immediately besieged. Domitius prepared himself for a vigorous resistance, and writ to Pompey in these words: “ That the occasion was now favourable to surround Cæsar, if he would but bring up his army; that he would lose his reputation if he abandoned thirty cohorts, and a great number of senators, besides Roman knights.” Pompey answered: “ That he

“ was

“ was not in a condition to hazard the forces
 “ of the republic in a battle ; that Domitius
 “ had shut himself up in Corfinium against his
 “ advice ; and that he ought to think of retir-
 “ ing as soon as possible, and of rejoining the
 “ consuls with the rest of the senate.” It was
 for this refusal that Cicero exclaims against Pom-
 pey in his letters to Atticus. I thought, said he,
 “ that Pompey would have had more regard for
 “ his reputation. He has favored and aggran-
 “ dized Cæsar ; and of a sudden takes it in his
 “ head to fear his power. He approves of no
 “ propositions of peace, and has made no pre-
 “ parations for war. He has taken the resolution
 “ of going into Greece, without communicat-
 “ ing any of his designs to us. In a word,
 “ Domitius presses him for succour, and has re-
 “ presented to him that it concerns his glory.
 “ But Pompey has renounced his former glory,
 “ and is fled to Brundisium.”

CHAPTER XIX.

*The taking of Corfinium. Cæsar gives
 Domitius and the other senators their
 liberty. He writes to Cicero.*

DOMITIUS concealed the answer of
 Pompey. He said in public, that this
 general was marching to succour him : in the
 mean time he took his measures with his friends
 to retreat privately. But as his countenance and
 actions

actions discovered his design, the soldiers mutinied, and proposed to surrender themselves to Cæsar, who had augmented his army with his ninth legion, twenty two cohorts raised in Gaul, and three hundred German horse, which a little king on the side of Bavaria had sent him. Cæsar blockaded the place with these troops, the command of which he had trusted to Curio. Thus his retreat being no longer free, the soldiers seized upon Domitius, and sent deputies to Cæsar, to assure him, they were ready to open the gates, and deliver the city to him. This was in the beginning of the night : Cæsar would not suffer his troops to enter at that time, for fear that by favor of the night, they might commit great violences and plunder the city. He only ordered the guards to be doubled, and his army passed all the night under arms. At the break of day, Lentulus spoke from the top of the rampart to one of the advanced centinels of Cæsar ; asking if he might speak to him with security. Cæsar was acquainted with it and gave his word : Lentulus came out of the town conducted by the soldiers of Domitius, even into Cæsar's presence. " He begun his apology, by begging Cæsar to " pardon him in consideration of their ancient " friendship, and extended his discourse upon " the kindnesses which Cæsar had done him." He said openly : " that he was indebted to " him for all the honors he possessed ; such as " the dignity of pontif, the government of " Spain ; and even the consulship itself. Cæsar interrupted him by saying : " that he " was not come out of Gaul with a design of " injuring

"injuring any one; but only to defend himself
 "against the outrages of his enemies, to re-
 "establish the honour of the tribunes, whom
 "they had shamefully disgraced, and recover his
 "own liberty, with that of the Roman peo-
 "ple, who were enslaved by a cabal of ill in-
 "tentioned persons."

Lentulus having recovered his spirits by this discourse, asked of him the liberty to return into the town, saying, that the favour which Cæsar had shewn him, would be a powerful motive to encourage others to trust to his clemency, of whom some pushed on by despair, had taken fatal resolutions against their own lives. He meant by this, Domitius who had taken poison as he thought, in a melancholy temper, but by a return of that love which all have for life, he was then seeking a proper remedy for that poison, he believed he was endangered by. He had no need: the physician only gave him a vomit, which had its ordinary effect.

Cæsar ordered to come from the city, all the senators and other illustrious Romans that were there; as Domitius, Lentulus, Spinther, Vibullius Rufus, Quintilius Varus, and Lucius Rubrius; besides the son of Domitius, and a number of young gentlemen and Roman knights. Cæsar strictly forbid his men to offer them any insult, either by actions or words, and after having said to them in a few words: that he had not hitherto much reason to congratulate himself for the gratitude of those many obligations they lay under to his generosity, he yet gave them their full liberty of retiring wherever they pleased; and to shew

that he as little desired the money as the life of his enemies, he restored to Domitius six thousand sesterces *, which he had deposited in the public treasury of Corfinium, though he was not ignorant, that this was public money, and designed to have been employed against himself. As this action was very differently interpreted by different partizans, Cæsar thought himself obliged to explain his motives in a letter, which he writ to Cicero, upon some praises which the latter had given him about the affair of Corfinium. The letter was in these terms : “ Cæsar
 “ imperator, to Cicero imperator. You have a
 “ right notion of me, since you are persuaded
 “ that nothing is more remote from my inclina-
 “ tions, than bloodiness and cruelty. I had not
 “ consulted any thing but my own private satis-
 “ faction in this proceeding ; but I glory to find
 “ it has merited your approbation. . . . I have no
 “ longer the least uneasiness at being told, that
 “ those whom I have spared are returned to my
 “ enemies, to join with them against me. Can I
 “ wish for a greater advantage over them than
 “ this, to have shewn that they will always be
 “ like themselves, and I preserve my own cha-
 “ racter of moderation and mercy ?”

The name of imperator was not at this time any thing but a title of honour, which the soldiers conferred upon their generals after some great victory. Cæsar, as every one knows, had thoroughly deserved it : Cicero had acquired it by some little successful exploits in his government of Cilicia, and it was to flatter him, that Cæsar

* Great sesterces.

gives him this title in his letter, in which he speaks of Domitius, Rufus and Varus, who all of them made a very ungrateful use of that liberty which had been given them. Domitius went to Marseilles to stir up that city, in opposition to Cæsar; Rufus into Spain, and Varus into Africk, for the same Design.

CHAP. XX.

*Cæsar makes other propositions of peace.
Besieges Pompey in Brundisium. Pompey retreats by sea.*

ALL the soldiers of Domitius went over to Cæsar's side. But as he did not trust to them, he sent them all into Sicily, and marched forward with his other troops, which consisted of four veteran legions, and two new raised ones. All the cities opened to him their gates, and those who commanded in them fled away; some of them were abandoned by the soldiers, who came in bodies to submit themselves to Cæsar. Pompey himself durst not wait for him, but retired to Brundisium; where the consuls immediately embarked with thirty cohorts to pass over to Dyrrachium*, while Pompey staid in the town with twenty others. Cæsar arrived there some time after, but before he would undertake to attack him, he chose still to try

* At present Darazzo.

means of accommodation. He had made Magius Pompey's engineer prisoner, and sent him back with orders to tell him: "that it would be
"for their mutual interests, as well as that of
"the republic, to have a friendly meeting together;
"because they might more easily agree
"in a conversation together, than by means of
"any third person." Magius brought him back no answer, which obliged Cæsar, uncertain of Pompey's design, to undertake the shutting up the entrance of the port of Brundisium. He caused a bank to be raised on each side, in that place where the port was the straightest, as long as they could find any bottom; but when the water was too deep, he ordered two vessels to be joined together, and made them advance towards the entry of the haven; they were of a squarish figure, and fastened by four anchors one at each corner. They joined to those other vessels of the same magnitude, with a design to make a kind of chain or blockade before the port. The first bridge of these vessels was covered with earth and turf, that they might fight with firm footing; the two sides were guarded with a kind of parapet; some of the vessels had likewise towers of two stories, the better to defend the work from the attacks and fires of the enemy. It was easy to judge of the design intended by these machines. Pompey undertook to force his way, and for this end, made use of bulky merchant ships that happened to be there. To this purpose, he ordered towers of three stories to be raised, which he furnished with all kinds of warlike machines, and missive weapons. He
ordered

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ordered them to drive directly against Cæsar's ships, that he might separate them, and hinder the progress of the work, which engaged both parties every day in skirmishes of arrows and other offensive weapons. Cæsar notwithstanding, continued always in the design of promoting peace, and as he received no news by Magius, he obliged Caninius one of his lieutenants, to ask an interview with Scribonius Libo his friend, and an officer of Pompey. His order was to exhort Libo to peace, the sure means of which was to be an interview betwixt Cæsar and Pompey; and that Cæsar was persuaded they might regulate all things, with an equal satisfaction to both, whereby the glory would redound to Libo, if by his care and management, both parties quitted their arms. Caninius spoke according to his commission; Libo acquainted Pompey with it, and returned afterwards to his friend, to whom he said, that the absence of the consuls hindered any of his propositions from being accepted. Cæsar on this, gave up all hopes of accommodation, and turned his whole thoughts to war. His work was but as yet half finished, when the vessels which had transported the consuls and their troops, returned from Dyrrachium. Pompey took this occasion of flying; but that he might secure his retreat, he ordered the gates of the city to be walled up, and demolished many houses in the market places and squares. The avenues to the port were guarded by ditches and palisades, intermixed with clay and earth, besides two parts which were not defended, but by thick beams and pointed staves, after the manner of

chevaux de frize. After these precautions, he made his soldiers embark without any noise; leaving only upon the walls some archers and slingers. He had given them a signal to retire, when his soldiers were got on board; and left certain small vessels in a commodious place. The inhabitants of Brundisium, being ill satisfied with Pompey's soldiers, and provoked at the ruin of their houses, sent advice to Cæsar of their retreat. He immediately put his troops in order, and placed his ladders in that moment, when Pompey gave the signal to his archers to retire: which they easily did, by those ways which were well known to them. Thus Pompey embarked all his troops, and hoisted sail at the close of evening. Cæsar's soldiers having passed the wall, were going to run into the snare that was laid for them, if the people of Brundisium had not told them of it. They were therefore forced to make a long tour to come at the port: but this did not hinder them from seizing on several barks and small vessels, besides two ships of Pompey's navy, which had been embarrassed in getting out of the port: the rest saved themselves with crowded sails. Cæsar seeing himself master in the space of sixty days, of Rome and all Italy, would have pursued his enemies, before those forces which they expected from Asia could have joined them. But as he wanted ships, he resolved to go to Rome, to give some order to its horrible confusion, and after that to pass into Spain to drive thence the troops of Pompey, who were possessed of it under the command of Afranius and Petreius.

Petreius. He dispatched likewise his orders, to all officers who commanded the sea-coasts, to get together as many ships as possible, and send them to Brundisium. He gave a legion to Valerius, to make a voyage to Sardinia, and three to Curio, with a commission to subject Sicily, and an order to pass over into Afric, after he had conquered that island. Cato commanded there under the commission of the senate, and Aurelius Cotta in Sardinia. They neither of them staid for the coming up of Cæsar's troops; and Cato, after having made a public complaint against Pompey's conduct, abandoned Sicily.

C H A P. XXI.

Cæsar goes to Rome, and sees Cicero in his passage. He takes the money of the public treasure, and marches for Spain. The siege of Marseilles.

CÆSAR in the mean time distributed his troops into good quarters, and marched to Rome, after having writ to all those senators who had not declared themselves, to meet him there, that they might assist him with their advice. He particularly wished to have seen Cicero there; and desired it of him by Oppius and Cælius, their common friends, who were near his own person. Cicero excused himself upon the circumstances of his affairs. But Cæsar still

to engage him, took an occasion of seeing him as he made his journey. The conversation of these two men, who were so extraordinary, and agitated by such different motions, had something singular in it. Cæsar complained to Cicero of his refusal to go to Rome, and said to him, but in a very mild manner: “ that by this repugnance he shewed to comply with his desire, which proceeded from sincere friendship, he would seem to condemn his conduct, and that this might make bad impressions, and be a bad example to other senators.” To this Cicero answered: “ that the reasons he had to act thus, were very different from those of others.” Cæsar pressed him further, and said: “ that he only wished his presence at Rome, that his prudence and abilities might prove a means of accommodation. But shall I then, replied Cicero, speak my own sentiments? yes, said Cæsar, I have nothing to prescribe to you on this head. I will tell you then, added Cicero, that your expedition into Spain does not please the senate; and that you ought not to pass into Greece with an army. In a word, I shall have a difficulty to with-hold myself from breaking out into strong terms of compassion, to which the present fortune of Pompey excites me. Ah! replied Cæsar with some emotion, I do not expect that any thing of this nature shall be spoke there. I was afraid of it, answered Cicero, and this was the true reason. I refused to go to Rome: for it is my duty to speak this as my sentiment in public; or
“ else

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“ else I ought not to appear in the senate.” Cæsar immediately left him to make reflections upon their conversation, but Cicero could not resolve to go to Rome. Cæsar being arrived there, made an assembly of what senators he found, which he called a true senate. After he had got them together and encouraged them, he made them a discourse to justify his own conduct: every one may imagine his reasons, and we have already mentioned the strongest. He proposed to this senate, the commissioning ambassadors to Pompey, without troubling himself upon a point of honor, which Pompey had laid down to himself in this war; which was, that a superior authority was attributed to those who received this honor, and that it was a mark of fear in those who paid it. But no one could be found to undertake this commission, because Pompey, by the advice of Domitius, had declared, he would treat as enemies of the republic, all those senators who remained neuter. Cæsar would not insist upon his proposal of this embassy, and thought only of providing himself with money. His resource was the public treasure, which he ordered to be opened; but Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, opposed it; “ alledging that the laws forbid such a proceeding, that this money was sacred, and more, that formerly there had been most horrible imprecations pronounced against such, who should touch it for any other reason than the Gallic wars.” Cæsar answered: “ That he had put an end to the reason of those maledictions, by subjecting all Gaul to the
E 5 “ Romans.”

“Romans.” And as the tribune still grounded himself upon the laws, Cæsar, with some emotion, said to him: “That arms and laws did not well agree together: but if, added he, my behaviour grieves you, you may retire; for war does not suffer this liberty of contradicting me. After peace has made both parties lay down their arms, then you may harangue again upon the validity of laws. While I speak thus to you, I remit much of my rights; for know, that both you and all those who have stirred up the people against me, are in my power.” After this he went to the gates of the treasury, the keys of which could not be found. Cæsar ordered smiths immediately to come and take off the locks; and as Metellus still had the boldness to contest with him, Cæsar in a rage laid his hand upon the guard of his sword, and threatned to kill him, adding these words: “Know, young man, it is a greater pain to me, to have said what I have, than it is a difficulty for me, to put my words in execution?” These words, and the action of Cæsar frightened Metellus, who retired. Cæsar took from the treasury, four thousand one hundred and thirty pounds of gold, and fourscore thousand pound weight of silver. The bad success of Metellus had such an effect, that no one dared to refuse him any thing during the rest of the war. After this he left Rome for his Spanish expedition, after having given orders for all his troops to join him. He understood in his way, that Rufus was gone into Spain on account of Pompey; and

and that the citizens of Marseilles, by an intrigue of Pompey with their ambassadors, who were at Rome when the war began, had resolved to refuse him an entrance into their city. Domitius went thither to throw himself into the harbour with seven galleys, which he had filled with slaves, freed-men, and the farmers of his own lands: the people of Marseilles had called in to their succour, the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains. Cæsar sent for fifteen of the principal persons of the town, to desire of them not to commence war with him, but follow the fate of all Italy, which had submitted itself voluntarily. They returned to the city to deliberate, and brought him for answer: "That having understood the Roman people were divided, and that Pompey and Cæsar were the heads of two parties, they were resolved to remain neuter, betwixt two such men to whom they had equal obligations." In the interim Domitius arrived, and was received into the city; they declared him general, and sent their naval forces to sea. Cæsar greatly offended at this proceeding, besieged the city with three legions, and ordered twelve ships of war to be built, which were ready in thirty days. Decimus Brutus commanded them under his orders, and Caius Trebonius was left lieutenant general, to continue the siege.

C H A P. XXII.

Pompey assembles numerous troops. Fabius enters into Spain, with those of Cæsar.

THOUGH the design of Pompey was at first ill interpreted, yet he was in fact too brave, and too experienced a captain, to have taken his measures without strong reasons. He knew perfectly Cæsar's high merit, and the exercised valor of his soldiers, accustomed, during ten years, to the fatigues and dangers of war, against the most robust and intrepid nations. Besides he would preserve his reputation, and not hazard a defeat without recovery, with new raised and unexperienced troops. Add to this, that he was not assured of the fidelity of those legions, which Cæsar had restored him, who had been accustomed to serve under a man, who had an admirable talent to gain universal love and affection. This was what obliged him to pass over into Greece, to form an army capable of resisting Cæsar, by all those succours which he might draw from Asia, which still continued in his interest. In effect, he soon saw a considerable army got together by his diligence: upon this, he applied himself to the exercise of his soldiers, to make himself master at sea by a powerful fleet, and to provide himself with weapons, machines, and all the equipage that was necessary. He still depended much upon

upon his army in Spain; composed of very good legions, hoping that if Cæsar did not lose his reputation, he would lose, at least, his best soldiers: which would have succeeded as Pompey imagined, if he had been at the head of his army, or if he had given the command to better officers. But Cæsar, who knew them, said with his usual frankness: "That he was going to meet troops without a general, and that he would return to find the general without troops." They chose the post of Lerida to wait for Cæsar. Afranius had three legions, and Petreius two others, with fourscore cohorts, who were natives of the country, and five hundred horse. Cæsar had made the passages of the Pyreneans to be occupied by three legions under Fabius, who after having driven away the soldiers of Afranius, who guarded the defiles, advanced as far as Catalonia. Cæsar followed him with three other legions, three thousand horse which had accompanied him in all his conquests, and as many more cavalry from Gaul, composed of the noblest and most brave of that nation, besides other auxiliaries. A report was spread that Pompey was coming by Mauritania, to put himself at the head of his army. Which obliged Cæsar to use his utmost diligence in making sure of his troops, by the most political means. He borrowed large sums of his officers, which he distributed by the most artful generosity amongst his soldiers. Thus he engaged his officers by their own interest, and his soldiers by an unparalleled liberality.

C H A P. XXIII.

Cæsar joins his army, and marches against Petreius and Afranius, lieutenants of Pompey.

LERIDA is a city of Catalonia, about twenty miles from the Eber, situated upon an eminency betwixt the river Segrus, and another called Cinga. Fabius advanced betwixt those two rivers, and caused two bridges to be thrown over the Segrus, four miles from each other, for the conveniency of forage. The generals of the enemy had done the same thing, and for the same reasons; the cavalry of both parties were every day engaged in skirmishes. There happened a great conflict betwixt two of the legions commanded by Fabius, and four of those belonging to Afranius, so that the two legions under Plancus run great risks of being defeated, if Fabius had not come up to succour him with his troops. Cæsar in the mean time was marching to join him with eight hundred horse; and made in two days a march from the Pyreneans as far as the Segrus. After that he had viewed the disposition of the places and the whole country, the rest of his troops being arrived, he ordered one of the bridges to be repaired, which the river had broke down. He left six cohorts, with all his baggage, to guard the bridge and camp, and marched in form of battle, having drawn his army up in three columns,

lums, even to the sight of the enemy. Afranius appeared with his troops in the same order, upon the eminence where he was encamped, and where Cæsar could not attack him. Which obliged him to take his post about four hundred paces from the foot of the mountain. The Romans never encamped without entrenching themselves with a ditch and palisade, which the legionary soldiers finished in a very short time. Every one of them besides his arms, carried a stake upon his shoulders, with which they made this palisade. This was their first work. They supported these stakes or poles, with turf and earth, to form a rampart. Not to be disturbed in this labour, Cæsar left his two first lines in battle-array, and ordered the third to work under cover of the two others, in making a ditch of fifteen foot broad. Thus this face of the camp which looked towards the enemy, was fortified in a very little time, and before Afranius perceived it. Then Cæsar made his troops retire by the two extremities of the entrenchment. All his army passed the night under arms, and the following day he placed three legions in order of battle, behind the ditch. As it was difficult to find turf, he only drew a ditch on the other side of his camp, by those three legions who were not under arms. The work was compleated in a few days, tho' Afranius and Petreius made some efforts to hinder it; and this work being finished, Cæsar ordered all his equipage, with those cohorts which guarded the bridge, to join him.

C H A P. XXIV.

The battle near Lerida.

BETWIXT that eminence where the enemies were encamped, and the city of Lerida, there was a plain of about three hundred paces, in the middle of which was a little rising ground. Cæsar undertook to occupy this post, and fortify himself in it, to take from the enemy the convenience of their bridge, with the communication of the town, from whence they drew all their subsistence. He made three of his legions advance, which he posted in different places, with precise orders to the first battalion of the legion nearest the rising ground, to run all at once and endeavour to make themselves masters of it. But the cohorts of the advanced guard under Afranius, who had the least way to go, arrived there first, and drove back Cæsar's men. They were supported by other troops, and the battle grew hot in this place. The manner of fighting on each side was very different. The soldiers of Afranius being accustomed to fight against Barbarians, who never wait the coming up of the enemy, made great efforts, and advanced with boldness; but they did not keep their ranks, but opened them in the battle; and when they were pressed close, they were not ashamed to retire and abandon their posts. And this, as Cæsar said, happened from the soldiers having taken the
manners

manners of those places, where they had passed several years of service. Cæsar's soldiers, on the contrary, esteemed it an honor to fight close to one another, to keep their ranks, and never abandon their ensigns or their posts. Notwithstanding this action of the enemy surprized them by it's novelty, and they thought they were going to be surrounded ; so that all this battalion gave way in disorder. This surprize reached the other troops, who were not accustomed to see themselves repulsed by the enemy : and they stood in need of Cæsar's presence, to give them new courage. He ordered the whole legion to attack at once. It was the ninth legion that stopped the assault of the enemy, and charged them so boldly, that they were obliged to retire under the walls of Lerida. But this legion, animated by the affront it had received, engaged itself by an inconsiderate valour in a dangerous place, upon the declivity of that eminence where the city was built. The soldiers of Afranius returned to the charge ; and as they received succour from the place, and Cæsar sent the same to his men, the battle lasted five hours upon the ground, with a great disadvantage to Cæsar's men, who fought below while the enemy scarce discharged a missive weapon without effect. This obliged them to force their way sword in hand up the ascent with so much vigour, that they pushed the enemy into the ditches, or the town itself. At the same time Cæsar's horse had advanced by very different ways, and favoured the retreat of his men without disorder. Both parties attributed to themselves the honor of the victory.

victory. Cæsar, because his troops had maintained the battle for five hours in a disadvantageous post, and had driven the enemy back sword in hand. Afranius, because his men, who were less in number, had at first the advantage, and he still remained master of that height on which they fought ; which he caused to be fortified.

C H A P. XXV.

Cæsar's army is reduced to great extremities, by the overflowing of two rivers.

Cicero and several other senators go to join Pompey.

THE accident which happened two days after this battle, gave Afranius still greater hopes. For the rains which fell in abundance, and melted the snows off the mountains, swelled to such a degree the before mentioned rivers, that the violence of the waters bore away in the same day both Cæsar's bridges. Thus he found himself enclosed betwixt two overflowing rivers, and he could not receive either his convoys, or those powerful succours which he expected from Gaul and Italy. It was in the beginning of summer, and the corn was not ripe enough to make bread of. Besides, the Spaniards in Afranius's army, knowing perfectly the country, and being accustomed to pass rivers on goat skins, which they carry with them to the war,

war, did not suffer any of Cæsar's soldiers to separate themselves from the others for forage, which the army had great need of. Afranius, on the contrary, had great provision of corn and all other necessaries, which he drew from the country behind his camp, which had not been desolated. Cæsar endeavoured to repair his bridges; but the breadth and rapidity of the rivers broke all his measures; besides this, the enemy hindered his work by darts and arrows from the other side of the Segrus. At this time the succour from Gaul came, consisting of archers and horse, composed of young gentlemen, sons of senators or knights, whom Cæsar had honoured with these dignities. They brought with them, according to the custom of that nation, great equipages, many chariots, and a quantity of slaves, but all this without order or proper commanders. They arrived in this condition upon the banks of the Segrus, which they could not pass. Afranius, advertised of their perplexity, marched with three legions and all his horse to surprize them. The sight of the enemy obliged the Gauls to draw up in some order, and make a body, which supported with a deal of valour the attack of the enemy's horse. But when the ensigns of the legions appeared, they retired towards the mountains, with no other loss but about two hundred archers, a few cavaliers, and some servants with their equipages. In the mean time the scarcity of provision increased in Cæsar's camp, and the soldiers were very much discouraged; as well by fear of what might happen in futurity, as by their present misery.

misery. Corn was sold extremely dear ; and fortune seemed to have espoused the cause of Afranius, whose troops had plenty of every thing. Petreius and he published these advantages by their letters to Rome, where the partizans of Pompey flocked in crowds to testify their joy to the wife of Afranius. Several senators who had hesitated to that time, went to join Pompey ; some of them to make a merit of their acquainting him the first with this news, and others of them to have a share in the benefits of the victory, which they thought certain by the ruin of Cæsar. Cicero was amongst the last, notwithstanding the advice of Atticus, the pressing instances of all the friends he had with Cæsar, and the letters of Cæsar himself, who desired of him only to remain neuter, for the sake of their friendship. “ It will never be believed “ (so he writ) that it is the right and cause of “ my enemies, who have made you declare “ yourself against me ; but some particular “ thing which has displeased you in my actions ; which would give me a very sensible “ displeasure. Nothing is more in character for “ an honest man who loves peace and his country, than to avoid taking part on either side, in “ the disorders of a civil war. The sole consideration of danger has hindered many persons from following the contrary sentiment, “ though they might have approved of it. But “ for you who know my conduct, the bottom “ of my heart and my sincere friendship, you “ certainly cannot take more sure or honourable measures, than not to meddle with “ these

“these misunderstandings and differences.” These reasons made less impressions on the mind of Cicero, than the loud trumpeted news of Spain; he began his journey to Pompey, who received him indeed with great satisfaction, but gave him no employment, because he was soon out of temper with his own conduct, when he found he had engaged himself imprudently; and gave hints of it in his witty raileries. Pompey reproached him upon this topick, for having come a little too late. “How too late,” replied Cicero, in good faith, I see nothing “ready yet?” Another time, as it was reported, that seven eagles had been taken in Pompey’s camp, and that this was a good omen. “True indeed,” replied he, if we had to fight against “magpies.” This obliged Pompey to tell him, that he wished he would go into Cæsar’s camp, because he would then cease to rail at them, when he once begun to fear them. At last Cato told him, that he ought to behave with that neutrality he had at first embraced, without declaring himself there so unseasonably, and that such inconstancy was quite unworthy of a man, penetrated by the maxims of true philosophy. Cicero upon this retired as soon as he could from Pompey’s camp, and was not at the battle of Pharsalia.

C H A P. XXVI.

Cæsar passes the Segrus, and pursues Afranius and Petreius.

THE joy of Pompey's party did not last any long time, but soon changed with Cæsar's fortune. After having in vain attempted to repair his bridges, he ordered his soldiers to build vessels, the use of which they had learnt in their expedition to Great Britain. The sides and bottom of these vessels were of very light wood, and the rest of osiers covered with skins; he made them be transported upon broad waggons during the night, twenty two miles from his camp: and thus made his soldiers pass over the river, who possessed themselves of an eminency, where they entrenched themselves before the enemy could perceive it. These troops were followed by a legion, and in two days they flung a bridge over the river in this place. The succours from Gaul passed over easily with their provisions; and all the soldiers were refreshed. Cæsar after this passed his horse, who surprized the foragers of Afranius, killed a great number of them, defeated their escorte composed of Spaniards, and brought off a great booty. Then the face of affairs entirely changed. The valor of Cæsar's cavalry so astonished the enemy, that they durst not any longer go far for forage; and several cities joining themselves to his party, sent him in plenty of all provisions. Illurgava, a city near

near the Eber followed their example, and a cohort of that city who served under the enemy, came over to Cæsar's camp. At this time he made several ditches of thirty foot deep, to make the Segrus fordable, and spare his cavalry the trouble of making a long circuit to pass the bridge. Pompey's generals begun to fear in their turn, a scarcity of provisions, because Cæsar was much stronger in horse. Thus they resolved to decamp and go into Portugal, because the people there had a great veneration for the name of Pompey. In this design they order boats to be got together, all over the river Eber; and to be brought to Octogesium, this was a place twenty miles from the camp. They commanded, after this, a bridge to be made of these vessels, and passed the Segrus with two legions. Cæsar's work, and the bridge of Afranius, were finished at the same time, with an extreme diligence on both sides, but an incredible labour and dispatch on that of Cæsar. In fine, Pompey's two generals left two cohorts in garrison at Lerida, and marched with all the other troops to join those two legions that were gone before. * At the third watch all the army decamped to gain the Eber, when Cæsar ordered the ford to be sounded, and finding it safe and passable, ordered all his horse to cross it, and advance to the enemy. One might observe at the break of day, from the rising ground of Cæsar's camp, that his horse were come up

* The night was divided into four watches, of three hours each, of which the first commenced at the sixth hour of the night; so the third watch begun at midnight.

with

with the enemy, pressed close upon their rear-guard, and put them in disorder; which was easily perceived by the confusion of their motion. The soldiers ran about in their camp crying out, that the enemy was suffered to escape, and the war would be protracted without any necessity. They begged of their officers to assure Cæsar, that they would refuse no fatigue to join battle, but that they would pass the ford, as well as the horse. This sudden ardor obliged Cæsar to leave the weakest with a legion to guard the camp, and after having placed a great number of carriage-horse, above and below the ford, he passed over his other legions without baggage. Some soldiers being carried away by the rapidity of the water, were saved by the horsemen; thus all his troops were preserved without the loss of one man. They formed their order of battle as soon as they were come out of the ford, and they marched with so much celerity, that notwithstanding a circuit of six miles, and the time they had employed in crossing the river, they came up before the ninth hour * with the enemy, who had begun their march at midnight. Afranius and Petreius drew up their troops upon a rising ground. Cæsar kept his in the plain, not to expose them to a battle, fatigued as they were. But as soon as the two generals made a motion to retire, he followed them without intermission, which obliged them to encamp sooner than they designed.

* At three in the afternoon.

C H A P. XXVII

Different motions of the two armies.

Cæsar besieges the two generals of the enemy.

FROM that place where they were encamped, there were five miles of a campaign country, which reached to the mountains and certain defiles, which they thought of possessing themselves of to stop Cæsar's cavalry, and retire without danger to the Eber. Cæsar understood this design by some prisoners, and that they were raising their camp without noise. He ordered it to be cried through the camp, that every soldier should take up his baggage. This was a common thing amongst the Roman soldiers, and this noise made the enemy remain in their entrenchments; fearing to be surpris'd, in disorder, during their march. At the break of day, Petreius went to observe the defiles with a few horse; Decidius Saxa had received the same orders from Cæsar. Both of them brought word back to their camp, that whosoever should seize first on those defiles, would take from his enemy the passage to the Eber. Afranius and Petreius consulted upon this, if they should decamp the same night, or wait for day. Those who were of the last opinion carried it, upon account of the danger they should run by being engaged in the night; when soldiers, and particularly in civil wars, are no longer influenced

by the example of their officers, or any restraint of shame. At the break of day, Cæsar left his entrenchments with all his troops, and marching along the higher ground, in a great circuit, he kept no certain rout. He was obliged by this to pass many difficult vallies, sharp rocks and troublesome ways. But the soldiers, persuaded that the prize of victory, and the end of their fatigues depended on their diligence, gave their arms to those who had first passed over a dangerous place to lighten themselves, and even bore up one another. At first the Afranians coming out of their entrenchments seeing the motion of the van-guard of Cæsar's army, which was contrary to the way that led to the mountains, upon account of the winding, believed that he retired thus for want of forage. They set up horrible shouts on this occasion, and their captains congratulated each other for having waited for day, without running any hazard during the night. But when by another motion to the right, they saw that the first troops were already beyond their camp, they saw clearly they should march out and prevent the enemy. There was a confused cry to arms, and they marched forth after having left some cohorts to guard their camp. The dispute was, who should be most diligent in gaining the mountains; the difficulty of the ways was a great obstacle to Cæsar's troops: but his cavalry caused no less a difficulty to the troops of Afranius. They already saw themselves reduced to the necessity of losing their equipages to save their persons; for Cæsar's horse had cut off all intercourse between them

them and the camp. But the thing of greatest moment was to make themselves masters of the defiles. Cæsar gained his point by the diligence of his troops. After having surmounted almost inaccessible rocks, he drew up in a plain where his legions put themselves in order of battle. The two generals seeing before them this body of infantry, and the cavalry at their backs, stop'd upon a rising ground, from whence they dispatched four Spanish cohorts, with a design to seize on the mountain which was the highest of those which were in sight, and open to themselves a way to go to the Eber. But they were surrounded by the cavalry of Cæsar, who cut them in pieces, in the sight of the two armies. The soldiers pressed him to take this opportunity of finishing the enemies defeat, whose fear appeared by the disorder of their ensigns: but he would not do so. He saw the certainty of victory without a battle, and would spare the blood of his soldiers. He therefore ordered his cavalry to retire, that the enemy might have the liberty of returning to that camp, they had quitted in the morning. Cæsar having posted troops at the defiles, and shut up the passage to the Eber, the day following drew up his army in the sight of their entrenchments. They had now only one of these two resolutions to take; of returning to Lerida, or going to Tarracona. As they were in council, news was brought them, that Cæsar's horse pressed hard upon those who were gone to water; which obliged them to send several legionary cohorts, supported with

cavalry, to favour a work they designed to make for their greater convenience and security. The two generals had divided themselves for this design, and as they were employed, the soldiers left their entrenchments, to speak with those of Cæsar. They almost all knew one another again, being of the same city, and most of them friends or relations. They thanked Cæsar's men, that they had not taken their advantage the day before, when they saw them in so great disorder. They complained of being forced to bear arms, against persons who were dear to them for many reasons. Lastly they desired security for their generals; promising in that case to surrender themselves to Cæsar, to whom they deputed the principal among their centurions. During this, they invited Cæsar's soldiers into the camp, and carried them to their tents, where they offered them all sorts of refreshment. The son of Afranius himself entered into a capitulation, by the intercession of Sulpitius, a lieutenant general. Thus it seemed, by the re-union of the two armies, all things would be ended amicably, and with moderation.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Petreius causes some of Cæsar's soldiers to be slain; he decamps, and Cæsar follows him, without designing his entire defeat.

UPON this news, Afranius returned to his camp, and retired to his tent, where he armed himself with reason against all events. But Petreius took another method; for arming his slaves, and guards, he ran with some Spanish gentlemen to the entrenchments, pushed back Cæsar's soldiers, and made his own retire. Cæsar's men rallied, seeing themselves attacked by Spaniards, and after some loss on their part, returned to their own camp. Petreius entered into his, went from quarter to quarter himself, and assembled all his troops. He conjured them with tears, he begged of them, to remember Pompey their general, to whom they had such singular obligations; after this he exacted a new oath of fidelity from them; he took it himself the first, then obliged Afranius, and the other officers; and lastly, all the soldiers in their order. Then those who entertained any of Cæsar's soldiers, were commanded to produce them. Some brought them, and they were barbarously massacred in the sight of the whole army. Petreius thought that the religion of this oath, and such an example of cruelty, were so strong an engagement, that the soldiers would never break

from it. Yet several preserved their friends, and saved them in the night, by letting them down from the ramparts. Cæsar would not imitate this inhumanity of his enemies, but sent back those soldiers, who were found in his camp, or at least such as would return; for several officers had joined themselves to his party. The enemy being now pressed with scarcity of all things, resolved to gain Lerida, where they had still some provisions, and decamped the day following. The order of their march was this, they had placed in their rear-guard their best cohorts, to face Cæsar's army, who pursued them on plain ground. When they had reached a mountain, they easily supported themselves by the nature of the place, because those who had passed first, defended with darts, arrows, and javelins, those that came after; but when they came to the descent, they were under great disadvantages; they could not succour one another, and Cæsar's cavalry overwhelmed them with missile weapons, while they were descending. To avoid this, whole legions halted upon eminences, and after having repulsed the enemies horse with great efforts, ran over the plain to gain another side of a hill, where they made head again, but advanced very little with such interrupted motions. After having marched four miles in this manner, Afranius and Petreius were obliged to encamp themselves, upon a rising ground, where they made some entrenchments. Cæsar posted his army very near them. When they saw his cavalry were gone out for forage, they began to march again, about
fix

fix a clock *. Cæsar followed them immediately with his infantry, and sent orders to his cavalry to come up with him at ten †. They returned immediately, so that the enemy being pressed by all his army, were forced to take a disadvantageous post, and very far from water. Cæsar would not, tho' he could, defeat them entirely, for reasons which have been mentioned before, but left them the full liberty of entrenching themselves, which they did with all expedition; and continuing their entrenchments from one post to another, they endeavoured with difficulty to advance, by covering themselves always with some works. But as this only served to remove them still further from the water, they passed a whole day without any. The day following all their army, in order of battle, went down to water; but none durst separate to go a foraging. This shewed Cæsar the necessity, to which they were reduced, and confirmed him in his design. He therefore begun lines, with an intent of enclosing them; and three days passed thus, in removing the earth, whilst the army of Afranius slew all the beasts of burden in their camp. In the mean time, Cæsar's work was still advancing. The two generals drew out their army, about nine a clock ‡ to hinder it, and formed themselves in two lines of battle. Cæsar, to preserve his own reputation, would not shew that he declined the combat. He drew up his own troops in three lines, the legionary cohorts to the right and left; his archers and

* Noon.
in the evening.

† Four a clock in the evening.

‡ Three

slingers he placed in the centre, and his horse at the two wings. In this order he waited their motions, being resolved not to attack them first. The two armies were upon their entrenchments, distant about two thousand paces, and they continued thus without undertaking any thing till night. Cæsar pushed on his works, and the two generals formed a design of opening to themselves a passage, and if possible find out a ford. This hope was taken from them, by the German light infantry, and part of Cæsar's horse, which he sent to the other side of the river, to defend the passages, by those guards which he disposed every way.

C H A P. XXIX.

Afranius and Petreius obliged, for want of provision, to surrender to Cæsar, with all their troops.

IN fine, after having suffered extreme difficulties for four days, wanting corn, forage, and every thing necessary for the sustenance of life, Petreius and Afranius were, in the end, obliged to ask a private treaty. Cæsar refused it, and obliged them to speak in presence of both armies. The son of Afranius was given for a hostage, and Afranius himself spoke for his party. He excused himself for having maintained to the last extremity, that fidelity, which they all owed to Pompey; and said: "They
" now

“ now thought, they had given sufficient proofs
 “ of their zeal, and if they were going to com-
 “ mit a crime in regard of Pompey, they were
 “ already sufficiently punished for it, by the
 “ fatigue and misery their fidelity to him had
 “ made them suffer: that they acknowledged
 “ their defeat, that Cæsar was victor, and only
 “ prayed him to use them with generosity, and
 “ not to treat them with the last rigour.” He
 spoke these words in a very submissive manner.
 To which Cæsar answered. “ That Afranius
 “ and his colleague had the least reason of all
 “ to ask his mercy; as for the others, they had
 “ only done their duty: what could they expect
 “ from him, who had refused to fight at his
 “ own advantage, merely to induce them to
 “ peace, by the consideration of his humanity?
 “ Had not his soldiers refused to revenge upon
 “ theirs the perfidy of murdering their com-
 “ panions? and had not peace been wished for
 “ by their side, and offers made towards it?
 “ Thus every one had shewn the sentiments of
 “ justice and moderation, excepting Afranius
 “ and his colleague, who without any regard to
 “ the laws of truce and interview, had cruelly
 “ massacred persons, who were deceived by the
 “ appearance of sincerity; that they were justly
 “ fallen into the humbling condition, which
 “ arrogance and obstinacy bring along with
 “ them: viz. to wish with passion for what
 “ they had refused with contempt, insolence,
 “ and daring cruelty; but that for his part, he
 “ did not design to draw any advantage to him-
 “ self from their submission, or the favours of

“ his own fortune; and that he would only
 “ have all those troops disbanded, which had
 “ born arms against him for so long a time.”
 He added still something further upon the conduct of his enemies, and said at last, that his design was not to strengthen himself by these troops, tho’ it was a very easy matter for him to do it; but he would have them never serve against him; thus he ordered the generals to depart the province, and dismiss their soldiers: that this was the only condition of peace he would grant them.

The soldiers of Afranius approved this discourse, and shewed their joy by loud acclamations. All things were regulated, and those who had establishments in Spain, were dismissed on the spot: others were to have their dismissal when they came to the river which separated the province and Italy. Cæsar promised to furnish them with provisions thither, and to force no one to take on in his troops. Every thing was executed honorably. Fufius Calenus, Cæsar’s lieutenant general, escorted them with two legions to the appointed place, where they had their dismissal. It is true indeed, that the greatest part voluntarily went over to Cæsar’s service, and the two generals returned to Pompey. Cæsar to leave no enemies in Spain, made two legions advance under the command of Cassius Longinus; and he himself went to Corduba, with six hundred horse. Varro, who commanded under Pompey, had made some preparations for war, after having balanced a long time which party he should take. But at the arrival of
 Cæsar,

Cæsar, all the cities, and a whole legion, abandoned Varro. This was what obliged him to retire to Cadiz, where he had ships. During this, Cæsar having made himself master of the entire province, Varro came to him and submitted with his troops. Cæsar upon this leaving Longinus with four legions in Spain, after having drawn great sums from all the cities, went to Cadiz: he embarked upon one of the vessels of Varro, for Tarragona, from whence he went by land to Narbona, and afterwards to the siege of Marseilles.

CHAP. XXX.

Continuation of the siege of Marseilles, and taking of the city. Cæsar chosen dictator. Defeat and death of Curio in Africa.

THIS city still held out against Trebonius, who was besieging it by land, while Decimus Junius Brutus attacked it by sea; and the obstinacy of the citizens had like to have caused its entire ruin. The inhabitants headed by Domitius, and supported by the mountaineers in the neighbourhood; a people called Albici by Cæsar, bold and courageous soldiers, had fought two battles against Brutus at sea, in both which they were repulsed with great difficulty. They were attacked on the land side, and enclosed by lines

and other works. Necessity drove them to use artifice, and under colour of a treaty, which made Cæsar's men negligent, they made a vigorous sally, in which they burnt a part of the towers, and other machines of war. This caused the continuation of the siege; and besides, Trebonius had orders from Cæsar, not to force the place by storm, for fear the insolence of the soldiers might entirely desolate it. Cæsar arrived when they were reduced to the last extremity, and the plague begun to spread itself among the people, who had been distressed so long a time. They sent to him deputies, to capitulate with sincerity; and during this time, Domitius saved himself by sea. Cæsar pardoned them, for the sake, as he said, of their name and antiquity, rather than any personal merits; with this condition, that they should give up their arms and warlike machines, and bring to him all the money in the city. After having left there two legions in garrison, he sent the others into Italy, and departed for Rome, where the news of his conquests had made him be chosen dictator, by Marcus Lepidus, who was then prætor. Fortune, who seemed attached to his party, notwithstanding abandoned him in Africa, whither Curio was gone over from Sicily with two legions, and five hundred horse. This young man, full of ardor and courage, but without experience in war, had to do with Attius Varus, Pompey's lieutenant, assisted by Quintilius Varus, whom Cæsar had dismissed after he had taken him at Corfinium, and with Juba, king of Mauritania. This prince was a particular

particular enemy of Curio, because Curio in his tribuneship had proposed the reducing of his kingdom into a province. Quintilius being known by Curio's soldiers, who had served at Corfinium, they began to carry on intrigues amongst one another. But Curio kept them in the bounds of their duty, by his powerful eloquence, and the consideration of the name and victories of Cæsar. . And to find them employment, he led them to attack the camp of Attius Varus, near Utica. The battle was sharp; but at length Cæsar's men made themselves masters of the camp. Varus was wounded, and Curio besieged Utica; when Juba arrived with great forces, at a place about twenty five miles from Utica. Curio was weaker than Juba; and as he expected new succours, his design was not to expose himself to a battle. The African made a report be spread, that important affairs called him back into his own states, and that he only left Saburra, one of his lieutenants, with a part of his forces to raise the siege of Utica. Youth, (said Cæsar,) animated with great courage, and the success of his former exploits, made Curio too credulous of this report. He resolved to fight, and went to find Siburra, upon the river of Bagadra, where he was encamped; he immediately surprised the Numidian cavalry, of which he made a great slaughter; and as he had understood, that Siburra commanded these troops, joy and hope hindering him from examining any further, he marched directly towards the enemy. Upon this news, Juba ordered two thousand

thousand Gaulish and Spanish horse to march to his lieutenant, who served him as his own body guards, with orders that they should retire back again to him always fighting. He was but six miles from Siburra, and he immediately began his march towards him, with all his army and forty elephants: Siburra in obedience to the king's orders, drew up his men in form of battle, and made a kind of a retreat, which tempted Curio to push him vigorously, tho' the greatest part of his own horse had left him, for meer lassitude. Siburra opposed not at first any thing but his own horse to those of Curio, which made no more than two hundred, and this small squadron forced the enemy to give way, wherever it turned the strength of its arms. The legionary cohorts made the same impression upon the enemy, but they always rallied again, under the cover of the new succours sent in by Juba. In fine, the Romans finding themselves surrounded by those numbers, which increased every moment, Curio perceived, but too late, his fatal mistake. He had a mind to make an effort, and gain a mountain with his infantry; but Siburra opposed all his horse to him. Domitius, who commanded Curio's cavalry, exhorted him to save himself with what horse he had left, and promised never to leave him. "Can I, (replied Curio,) bear the sight of Cæsar, after having lost thus by my rashness, an army he had trusted to my conduct?" At these words, he flung himself among the thickest of the enemy, where he soon got himself dispatched. The rest of his forces were cut to pieces; and Juba made

made such an insolent use of his victory, that he murdered in cold blood, all those cohorts, that were found in the camp, to which Varus had given his promise of security. Thus Cæsar lost two legions, and all Africa, which continued in the interest of Pompey, whose hopes were raised again, by this defeat, after they had been sunk by the losses he had received in Spain.

C H A P. XXXI.

Pompey's forces, Defeat of Dolabella, and Caius Antonius, Cæsar's lieutenants. Brutus goes over to Pompey.

THUS almost the whole universe was divided, about the quarrel of two men, and the whole world shaken by their motions and separate interests. Pompey had gained over all the east to his party; and during the stay of Cæsar at Rome and in Spain, he had assembled very powerful armies, both by sea and land. His land army consisted of nine Roman legions very compleat, without reckoning two others which Scipio, his father-in-law, was bringing to him. Add to this, three thousand archers from Crete, Lacedemon and Pontus; eight cohorts of slingers, and seven thousand horse, composed of succours sent him from Dejotarrus, king of Galatia, Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, Cotis and Rascupilis, Kings of Thrace, and from Antiochus,

tiochus, king of the Comagiens, besides a great many Roman knights. These troops were distributed about Durazzo, Apollonia, and all that coast, to oppose the descent of Cæsar. His naval strength consisted of five hundred large vessels, without reckoning ships with oars, such as galleys, brigantines, and others. The chief commanders were, Pompey's eldest son, called Pompey, after him, Decius Lælius, Caius Triarius, Caius Cassius, Caius * Marcellus, Scribonius Libo, and Marcus Octavius. All these particular commanders had each of them his squadron, and received orders from Bibulus, who performed the office of admiral. Besides these forces, Pompey had drawn large sums of money from Asia and Greece. And to revenge himself in some measure for the loss of Spain, he caused Dolobella †, and Caius Antonius, to be attacked, who commanded for Cæsar, upon the coasts of Illyrium. Dolobella was easily defeated, and Caius, who hastened to his succour, not being able to maintain himself at sea, was forced into the island of Corcyra, where Octavius and Libo besieged him. He defended himself well enough, but his soldiers being at last pressed by hunger, and gained over by the intrigues of Pulcizio, one of their centurions, submitted themselves and gave up their command. Some officers, who had a mind to save themselves on the continent, pursued by their enemies, killed themselves, and not one escaped of all their troops. These advantages, which kept up the reputation of their party, engaged

* Claudius.

† Cornelius.

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several persons of great credit to join Pompey: so that there were found in his camp more than two hundred senators, of which he formed a body; and they assembled in form of a senate. It was in one of these assemblies that they made a decree by the advice of Cato, that they should put to death no Roman citizen out of the heat of battle, and plunder no cities subject to the Roman empire. This decree of so laudable and humane a nature, drew the affections of all people towards those who were the authors of it, and gave so high a reputation of justice and equity to their designs, that it was capable of balancing, for a long time, the fortune of Caesar: and it was this pretence at last, which obliged Marcus Junius Brutus to conspire against him. Brutus had very strong reasons to hate Pompey, who had put his own father to death. Notwithstanding that severe virtue, and Stoical apathy of which he made profession, with the example of Cato, who was his uncle and father-in-law, engaged him in that party, in which he thought he saw more grounds of justice, and tho' before he would never so much as speak to Pompey, or salute him, he condescended then to serve under him, to shew to all, he sacrificed his particular interests to the good of the republic. Pompey received him with an extreme pleasure, and shewed him most distinguished marks of honor. But Brutus, upon account of his youth, would accept of no command, but left superiority to those who were more advanced in age, experience, and dignity.

C H A P. XXXII.

A mutiny among Cæsar's troops. He reclaims them to their duty by his eloquence and firmness. He is chosen consul with Servilius, and makes new laws.

IN the mean time Cæsar, who was still at Marseilles, received advice that his soldiers had mutinied at Placentia, against their commanders: had demanded their dismissal, and the five mina's which had been promised them at the beginning of the war. But their uneasiness came from this, viz. they were not permitted the liberty of plundering; which they hoped to obtain by the necessity there was of their service. Cæsar's maxim was, never to yield upon these occasions, but maintain by a steady conduct, that authority he had gained by his merit. He hastened to Placentia with troops, and assembled all the mutineers. "I know not, (said he to them,) what misfortune opposes the effect of my good intentions; but I require no other witnesses but yourselves, of the diligence I have always shewn in this war; and if it is protracted, the fault is in our enemies, who fly before us, and not in me your general. After the conquest of Gaul, wherein each of you, under my conduct, have acquired riches and glory, this war was undertaken by common consent, and not any private

" private deliberation of mine. We begun it,
 " and have hitherto pushed it on in concert;
 " and at present when it is in its greatest flame,
 " you seek a pretence of abandoning me: for
 " instead of obeying my commands, you pre-
 " tend to give me law. This is what obliges
 " me to quit those sentiments of mildness and
 " humanity, which I have retained hitherto, to
 " entertain the maxims of Petreius. And I this
 " instant order the ninth legion to be decimated;
 " who have thus been rebellious to my com-
 " mands." The mutineers being struck with
 these words, as with a thunderstroke, flung them-
 selves at his feet, and begged his pardon with
 tears. All their officers did the same thing:
 Cæsar suffered himself to be entreated for some
 time; at last, he bid them draw lots; but the
 lots were ordered so that they fell upon the
 most seditious, to the number of twenty six;
 the indignation of Cæsar being thus abated, he
 was content with the punishment of twelve of
 the most culpable, who were executed upon the
 spot; tho' among this number there was one
 found innocent: and as Cæsar could not recall
 him to life, he put to death his false accuser.
 After long instances and entreaties, he granted
 to the rest of the legion, which he had broken,
 permission of serving under him. He went after
 this to Rome, where he held an assembly of the
 people in quality of dictator. He only kept this
 dignity eleven days, and made himself be chosen
 consul, with Servilius Isauricus *. As his design
 was to make himself dependants and creatures,

* Year of Rome 705.

he proposed several favorable laws for this purpose. The first was concerning debts. War as it commonly happens had ruined credit, and rendered many persons insolvent. Cæsar ordered, that estimation should be made of all inheritances, on the footing they stood at before the war; and that the creditors should have them according to that estimation. Thus he took away the fear of a general bankruptcy, which they called, new tables, and supported the credit of the debtors. Besides this, he drew over to his party all those who had a mind to be favored in this valuation, which was the end of this law. The other law recalled all condemned persons from banishment, who had been exiled while Pompey presided in judgment. Cæsar made some other ordinances, and after having laid down the name and dignity of dictator, he departed for Brundisium.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Cæsar passes into Greece with a part of his army. Mention is made of peace, but to no purpose. The armies approach one another near Durazzo.

HE had already sent orders to twelve of his legions, and all his horse, to repair to Brundisium. The legions were much diminished by war, marches, and sicknesses of the

the autumn, which were very fatal that year. Moreover, for want of vessels, he could only embark five, which made in all but twenty thousand foot, and six hundred horse. He said to his soldiers, that as they were near the time of finishing their fatigues by a glorious victory, it was necessary to leave their servants and equipage in Italy, that they might embark a greater number of persons for service; and that they ought to expect all things from victory and his gratitude. They all cried out together, that he might lead them wherever he pleased, and in spite of the rigor of the season, Cæsar weighed anchor the fourth of January. This was what surprised all the officers of Pompey's army, who never imagined that Cæsar would trust his army to so dangerous a passage, at that season of the year. Cæsar took his time so well, that he passed in a day, and landed in a road at the foot of the mountains called Ceraunian. He chose this place far from ports, which were all possessed by his enemies, and after having landed his men, he sent back his vessels to transport the rest of his army, under the orders of Calenus. Bibulus was at Corcyra, with one hundred and ten ships. At the first news of Cæsar's passage, he set sail, and meeting with Cæsar's vessels at their return, he took thirty, which he burnt with all the sailors, and possessed with his fleet all the ports and roads, which are found from Salonia, as far as Oricum. He placed every where numerous guards, lying himself on board in a very inconvenient season. Cæsar notwithstanding, possessed himself of Oricum and Apollonia, which submitted

submitted at the sight of his troops, and put himself in a condition of cutting off from Bibulus, the advantages he might have from land, whilst the other took from Cæsar, those he might have from sea. Cæsar, who always took a great care of justifying his arms, and shewing the sincerity of his intentions, had still in his power Vibullius Rufus, whom he had taken twice; The first time at Corfinium, and the second in Spain. He sent him to Pompey, with whom Rufus had some credit, and prayed him to tell him: "that fortune seemed hitherto to have
 " balanced betwixt the two parties their losses
 " and advantages, to oblige them to be more
 " inclined to an accommodation; but as each
 " was naturally inclined to favour his own senti-
 " ment, it would be necessary to chuse arbi-
 " trators, who should be the senate and Roman
 " people; and that if Pompey would trust to
 " them his interest, and dismiss his troops in
 " three days, he would do the same." Rufus departed with diligence to discharge these orders, and rid post to acquaint Pompey of Cæsar's arrival. This is what obliged Rufus to make so much haste, for he knew well enough Pompey would not commit his cause to the senate and people, who were then at the disposal of Cæsar. Bibulus made Cæsar at the same time another proposition, which he knew very well how to evade. This was to make a truce, and permit Pompey's vessels to draw from the shore, wood, water, and other refreshments, which they were in great need of. To which Cæsar answered; that as they guarded

guarded the sea against him, he would guard the land against them; and that if they would have the conveniences of land, by means of this truce, they must leave him the liberty of the sea, and withdraw their fleet which shut up the coasts. His design was to gain time and opportunity, for the passage of his other troops; and Bibulus, who perceived it, would admit of no truce on these conditions. Pompey was in Macedonia, where Rufus joined him; and fearing lest Cæsar should surprize Durazzo, where he had laid up his provision, he marched with all his army to secure that place. It was in this march, that he knew the difference betwixt new raised troops and old soldiers. For as this march was performed by great stages, several soldiers deserted, either out of cowardice, or because they could not bear fatigue; and at the least news that was spread of Cæsar's approach, disorder spread itself amongst them; and they seemed already defeated. Pompey however came the first to Durazzo, where he entrench'd himself along the river Apsus, and Labienus invented an expedient to recover the courage of the troops. He got the army assembled, and swore in the presence of all the soldiers, that he would never abandon his general, but follow him and his destiny. All the other officers took the same oath, and the soldiers one after another. Cæsar, tho' prevented by the enemy, came and encamped on the other side of the river, to cover the city of Apollonia; and they were for some time in this situation, waiting the succours that were to come to them.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Cæsar exposes himself in a boat to join his other troops.

CÆSAR'S legions that remained in Italy, were almost all of them old soldiers, who had served under him a long time. At the first orders they received of repairing to Brundisium, they began to murmur at the new fatigues they were to undergo. They said: "They had worn out their bodies and exhausted their veins in Cæsar's service; that the weakness to which he saw them reduced, the wounds with which they were covered, ought to convince him they were neither immortal nor invulnerable; that notwithstanding he dragged them on from war to war, and that the very steel of their arms was wasted since they bore them:" with several other discourses customary to old soldiers, who do not upon such an account less perform their duty. In effect, they still advanced towards Brundisium; but when they learnt that Cæsar had passed the sea, and was near the enemy, the love they had for him declared itself: their murmurs turned into complaints and reproaches, against their officers; who had not marched them quicker. They cursed their inactivity, and passed whole days upon rocks along the coast, to see if the ships did not return for their embarkation. Cæsar, on his side, was in no less disquiet. He had

written

written before to Calenus, of the hazard there was of crossing the seas, because all the coasts were guarded by the enemies vessels, and this advice saved his troops. Calenus had already embarked them upon those ships he had with him, but Cæsar's letter stopt him, and only one vessel which disobeyed his orders, fell into the hands of Bibulus, who immediately put to death all that were in it, to frighten others, as he thought, by that example. In fine, Bibulus dying of a distemper, which was caused by the inconveniency of diet and rowling of the sea, not finding a proper person to pitch upon as admiral in his place, none observed an exactness of covering the coasts, or being on their guard. Cæsar saw this opportunity favourable to the design of transporting his troops, and was in a sort of agony because they did not come according to his wishes. He had already written several times; and at last his impatience pushed him to an action, which none can account for, but by the confidence which he had in his good fortune. He never spoke of this in his commentaries, no more than of another action that Suetonius relates; in which there was no less danger, but more necessity. The case was thus: the Gauls had besieged his legions in his absence; upon this occasion he took the dress of a Gaul, and by this disguise, and his artful behaviour, he passed the whole body of the guards, and the entire army of the enemy, and safely arrived in his own camp. What is wonderful in Cæsar's person is, that tho' a general, he hazarded himself in this manner; he never marched

with his army without the least precaution, having always first an exact account of all defiles, advantages, and passages proper for his army. Cæsar therefore, on the forementioned occasion, taking the dress of a slave, without trusting his secret to any one living, put himself in the dusk of the evening upon a fisher's boat, which was at the mouth of the river Apfes. They were to depart the same night, and his design was then, after they were out at sea, to make them row directly to Brundisium. They set sail in the close of the evening, but a sea wind blowing against the mouth of the river, repelled its waves, and made them rise in such a manner against those of the sea, that it was agitated to a prodigious height in that place. The master of the vessel with his sailors did their best to pass the surge; but as the tempest encreased with the winds, he bid them turn their sails. Cæsar alone opposed his design, and because he saw the man intimidated with his danger, he discovered himself at once, and perceiving the fisherman knew him: "Fear nothing, (said he;) thou conducts Cæsar and his fortune." The sailors animated by the presence of Cæsar, did all they could to surmount the impetuosity of the waves; but the sea was so boisterous and high at the mouth of the river, that they had all like to have perished, and they were all obliged to regain the land. Cæsar returned to his camp, where the soldiers ran in crowds to his tent, and made him a hundred tender reproaches, saying: "That he did them an injury, to seek at the
" peril of his life new troops, against his ene-
" mies

“mies whom they had before their eyes, and
 “that they had still, old as they were, vigour
 “and courage enough to cut to pieces all op-
 “ponents, while they saw him at their head.”

CHAP. XXXV.

Cæsar's troops arrive happily in Greece.

*Cælius and Milo make a disturbance
 in Italy, and are slain.*

IT was not without reason, that Cæsar was
 so uneasy for his troops in Italy. Scribonius
 Libo had set sail from Oricum, with fifty vessels
 which he commanded, and had posted himself
 in an island near Brundisium, where immediately
 he seized upon some merchant's vessels that were
 in the road; he even had some designs of making
 a descent upon the continent, which might have
 succeeded. These small advantages made him
 write to Pompey, that with his fleet alone, he
 would hinder Cæsar's troops from passing into
 Epire, and that they might at the same time refit
 their vessels. Cæsar had still some other news
 from Rome, which gave him uneasiness. Cæ-
 lius, of whom mention has been made, dissa-
 tisfied with a party, amongst which his hatred to
 Appius and friendship for Curio, had embarked
 him, sought occasions of acting against Cæsar's
 orders. He was prætor with Trebonius, to
 whom Cæsar had committed the estimation of

inheritances. Cælius published an edict, wherein he declared, he would receive the complaints of all such as had suffered wrong, and that he would do them, as he said, the utmost justice. Few persons complained, and all the senators opposed the enterprize of Cælius; this was what obliged him to leave Rome, under pretence of joining Cæsar. He went to meet Milo who was returned into Italy, and had got about him a number of wild peasants, with a mob of gladiators. They spread a report, that he acted under Pompey's orders. Cæsar's felicity freed him from this accidental danger. Milo and Cælius were killed at the same time. Milo was slain while he was besieging a little town in Calabria, called Thurium; and Cælius, by certain Gaulish and Spanish gentlemen, whom he endeavoured to persuade to a revolt. Antony and Calenus drove Libo from before Brundisium, after having taken a galley, with the attendant lesser vessels fortified with clay, in manner of a parapet, and filled with good soldiers. After this they embarked their troops, and set sail from Brundisium, with a favourable wind. Cæsar had written to them in pressing terms to this purpose, and ordered them to land at Apollonia. The passage was but of a day. When they were in sight of Apollonia and Durazzo, Coponius came out with a squadron from Rhodes, which he commanded, to intercept their voyage; but the wind, which was always favorable to Cæsar's men, grew stronger when the enemy appeared in sight. Coponius was obstinate in pursuing them, and Cæsar's generals, who would
not

not fight without him, flung themselves into the port of Nimphea, three miles above Lisso. This port was under cover of the south-east wind; but it was cut across by the south. In a surprising manner that wind, which had continued at south for two days, changed to south-east the very moment they cast anchor. Thus Cæsar's party saw themselves in security in a good haven, and the squadron of Coponius was driven upon the coast with such violence, that every vessel perished. The soldiers and sailors were partly drowned; and the rest fell into the hands of Cæsar, who honorably dismissed them afterwards. Two ships of Antony's squadron, who could not follow the rest, cast anchor near Lisso, where Otacilius Crassus, who commanded for Pompey, made them be attacked by sloops and little vessels. One of these vessels bore two hundred and twenty foldiers of new raised troops; and the other two hundred old soldiers. The new raised troops, amazed at the number of their enemies, surrendered to the promise of Otacilius, who for all that, ordered them to be butchered by a horrible perfidy. The veterans, after having amused their enemy with a feigned capitulation, obliged their sailors to sink their vessel upon the coast, where they saved themselves by swimming; and after having driven back, and fairly beat six hundred horse, which Otacilius sent against them, they joined the other troops of Antony. The city of Lisso itself revolted against Otacilius, who retired to Pompey, and abandoned the place to Antony.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Marc Antony joins Cæsar in spite of Pompey, who retires towards Durazzo.

ANTONY had with him three legions of veteran soldiers, with one of new levies, and eight hundred horse. He sent back his vessels to Italy, to bring over the rest of the troops, and only kept at Lissos certain Gaulish vessels, to the end that if Pompey should have the design of passing over into Italy, Cæsar might have vessels ready to follow him. Antony immediately informed Cæsar of his arrival, and the place where he was. Pompey received the news at the same time, by those who had seen the ships pass before Durazzo. As these two generals were encamped upon the river Apes, which separated the two camps, the soldiers spoke to one another pretty often, and this gave room for the last propositions that were made about an accommodation. Vibullius Rufus made the first overture, when Cæsar sent him back; but Pompey by the advice of Libo, Lucceius, and a Greek called Theophanes, who was one of his intimate friends, stopt him short upon a point of honor, very much out of season, if we may believe Cæsar in his commentaries, giving for his answer: that he could not suffer, that his life and return to Rome should appear a favour granted him by Cæsar.

Vatinius,

Vatinius, Cæsar's lieutenant, did not fail endeavouring a renewal of this conference, upon the river Apes, and Varro of Pompey's party had promised an assembly for this effect. All the lieutenant generals of both parties, agreed upon a day for the conference. As they were all met together, Labienus came to them, and after having spoken something on the topick, the conversation was interrupted, by a shower of darts and arrows, that were launched against Cæsar's deputies. Vatinius was covered by his soldiers bucklers, but Cornelius Balbus, Plotius, and Tiburtius were wounded, and Labienus cried out with insolence: that it was useless to speak any more of peace, unless they brought them the head of Cæsar. This is what is related by Cæsar, and from that moment, he was resolved on a vigorous war. After this the two generals decamped, in one day, Cæsar to join Antony, and Pompey to hinder their junction. He had no river to pass as Cæsar had; and therefore posted himself in a place, which appeared to him proper for an ambuscade, which he prepared for Antony. But Antony having notice from certain Grecians, entrenched himself in a convenient post, where he waited for Cæsar, who arrived soon after, and Pompey fearing to be enclosed betwixt two armies, retired towards Durazzo, leaving Antony the liberty of joining Cæsar; which he did the same day. Thus Cæsar and Pompey at the head of all their troops, saw themselves in condition of disputing the empire of the globe, and of all that accumulated glory which they had obtained in so many wars.

And because they had effaced in some manner, the lustre and reputation of all those who had preceded them, and as their very names at this day strike us with the idea of two great generals, struggling for the highest point of glory, the detail of their motions cannot but be very agreeable, and of great instruction, which I have drawn from the commentaries of Cæsar, who, as far as we can judge from this distant period of time, has related them with a candour and sincerity, which are only natural to a great mind.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Cæsar presents battle to Pompey, which he refuses. They both post themselves near Durazzo. Cæsar encloses Pompey's camp with lines.

AFTER Cæsar had assembled all his army, and was informed of Pompey's situation, he marched directly to him, and entered by force of arms into a town where Pompey had left a garrison. After three days he came in sight of the enemies camp, and fortified his own, out of which he drew the following day all his troops, to offer Pompey battle, who refused it, and durst not come out of his camp. Cæsar knew from that moment, that he was to follow another method; he left his camp the following day,

day, to march towards Durazzo: tho' this march obliged him to pass through difficult defiles, he had two designs in it, the one of forcing Pompey to shut himself up in Durazzo, and the other, of intercepting his way, because all Pompey's provisions and equipage of war were there; this last design succeeded in part. Pompey thought at first, by the motions of Cæsar's army, that the want of provisions forced him to retire; but as he had learnt his intention by his spies; or his forragers, he began his march on the following day; hoping he should prevent the enemy, by a shorter way than that they were obliged to take. But Cæsar having foreseen what might happen, encouraged his soldiers by his words and example, and suffering them only to take a short repose at night, arrived early in the morning under the walls of Durazzo, when they began to discover the van-guard of Pompey's army. This general took his resolution upon the spot, and possessed himself of an eminence called Petra, which commands the sea, and where there is a tolerable haven for vessels, which covers them from some winds. They both entrenched themselves in those parts they occupied. Pompey immediately sent for a part of his vessels; and dispatched couriers to Asia, and other countries that were of his party, to bring him provisions and warlike stores. Cæsar, who then foresaw the war might continue a long time, that he had but a little corn, and that his supplies were very uncertain from Italy and Spain, sent Canuleius, one of his lieutenants, into Epire. He established likewise magazines at regular distances, because

this province was very remote, and gave his orders for the importation of corn into all the neighbouring towns: he likewise got together all the corn he could in the neighbouring castles and fortifications. But as this country furnished very little, and Pompey had desolated all places, or carried off the produce, this supply was very small. This obliged Cæsar to form a design, grounded on the nature and disposition of the ground. There were certain high and difficult hills about Pompey's camp; which Cæsar approached to by towers he caused to be built in form of redoubts, and afterwards drawing lines of communication from hill to hill; or other works according to the situation of the places, he undertook to blockade Pompey by this circumvallation. Pompey on his side extended his army, and took all the space that was possible by his works, which he pushed very far, by fortifying himself from hill to hill. So that by four and twenty redoubts, he took up the space of fifteen miles, where his horse found forage, besides several sowed lands. We ought not to judge rashly of the conduct of these great men, as some authors do, who advance, that these works were of very little service: they had both their reasons, and Cæsar relates: his design was, to cut off a free secure passage from Pompey's horse; " who surpassed his own by far, and
 " might incommode his carriages; to deprive
 " them of forage, and by that means render
 " them useless; and in fine, to abate the high
 " esteem which Pompey had gained among
 " foreign

“ foreign nations ; when the whole world was
 “ once informed, that he was besieged by Cæsar,
 “ and durst not hazard a battle.” In effect,
 Pompey did not design it, nor to retire from the
 sea-shore, whence he expected his provisions, or
 from Durazzo, where he had reposed his ma-
 chines, his darts, and other preparations of war.
 In fine, there is a probability that these two great
 captains, who were consummated in the art of
 war, and instructed by many experiences, that
 sudden opportunities, and well managed advan-
 tages offered daily, betwixt two great neighbour-
 ing armies, sought both of them to surpass the
 other. Thus while Cæsar’s men pushed on their
 works, that they might not be attacked in the
 rear ; Pompey’s men advanced theirs, to gain
 ground, and hinder the enemy from flanking
 them. They had the superiority of number ;
 and besides, the circumvallation being interior,
 it was less extended than Cæsar’s. And tho’
 Pompey avoided a general battle, he sent daily
 against the enemy, his archers and slingers, who
 obliged Cæsar’s soldiers to cover themselves with
 pitched cloths or skins, to defend themselves
 against their arrows.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

*Battle betwixt the forces of Pompey
and those of Cæsar.*

CÆSAR applied himself chiefly to streighten the enemy by his lines, and Pompey on the contrary, endeavoured to keep the country open, and this gave occasion daily to skirmishes. Cæsar's ninth legion had seized an eminence, where they began to fortify themselves, when from a neighbouring height, Pompey sent his archers against this legion, and afterwards sent his light armed soldiers to support them with machines, with which they molested the workmen. As it was very difficult for Cæsar's troops to fight and labour at the same time, attacked on all sides as they now were, he had a mind to make a retreat; but this motion was of a delicate and dangerous nature, because they would be obliged to retire along the declivity of a mountain. The enemy supposed it was fear that made them do this, and therefore became more bold, and warm in pursuit; even Pompey said upon this occasion, that he would suffer any one to judge him ignorant of war, if Cæsar's legion could retire without damage, from that place where his rashness had posted it. Yet this was the design of Cæsar, for he ordered a great quantity of turf and poles to be placed against the enemy, upon the slope of the hill. After this he drew a moderate ditch, and perplexed

as much as possible all avenues. Then he placed his slingers to facilitate their retreat, and withdrew his legion by intervals. This motion increased the courage of Pompey's soldiers. They already had thrown down Cæsar's fortification to pass the ditch, when Cæsar bid his men turn about, and after having encouraged them, by means of Antony, who commanded that legion, he sounded a charge, and attacked those who had already passed. The soldiers who were in close ranks, discharged their javelins *, and mounting the ascent sword in hand, they pushed back Pompey's men, and forced them to a shameful flight. The ditch, rampart, and other works perplexed them very much, and many perished before they could disentangle themselves; but Cæsar's men were contented with their quiet retreat, and returned after having slain a great number of the enemy, without the loss of five of their own. This manner of fighting from mountain to mountain, was without doubt very extraordinary; and the design of this kind of siege was no less so. Cæsar besieged an enemy much more powerful than himself, who had provisions and ammunition in abundance; whereas his men were in extreme want, more particularly of corn; for Epire furnished them sufficiently with flesh. They suffered this with admirable constancy, being content with barley and greens. They found still another means of making bread of a certain root called chora, which they mixed with milk, and they some-

* Pila, this was an offensive weapon, five foot and a half long, with a triangular piece of steel at the end.

times flung of this bread to the soldiers of Pompey, crying out at the same time, that they would sooner eat the bark of trees, than let Pompey escape, whom they had in their power. He was much surpris'd, and said, that he had never imagin'd, that he had to fight with wild beasts. He was not without his inconveniences, for his horse began to suffer for want of forage. These beasts and men, which had died in his camp, had corrupted the air, and produced distempers; besides this they wanted water. Cæsar had stop't up, or turned aside the rivulets which might furnish them; and his own men had plenty, and enjoyed a very pure air. Thus advantages, and disadvantages, were divided betwixt the armies, who made every day some enterprize. Pompey had observ'd, by those fires which were nightly kindled in Cæsar's forts, that place where the soldiers kept their guard. He advanced his archers, under cover of the night, who sent a prodigious quantity of arrows, wounded a great number of men; but they soon found a remedy for this. They made their fires in a place, at a distance from the body of their guards, which remedied the former inconvenience. But as these skirmishes serv'd nothing towards the conclusion of the affair, Pompey resolving not to stay to the last extremity, and knowing Cæsar had left his camp one night, to get some intelligence from Durazzo, attacked the same night with the best of his troops, a castle near Cæsar's camp, guarded by a cohort, and at the same time made six other attacks in different places.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Pompey attacks Cæsar's forts. Valour of Sceva. Pompey quits his camp. Treason of Roscillus, and Ægus.

CÆSAR's men notwithstanding their surprise defended themselves, with a vigour that is almost incredible: tho' they were covered with arrows and darts, and four of the centurions had each of them lost an eye, and all the soldiers that were engaged, were wounded, they maintained for more than fifteen hours, a very unequal battle. Sceva, one of these centurions, who defended the gate of the castle, being wounded in the eye, besides his thigh and shoulder, held out his hand to the enemy, as if he had a mind to surrender; two of their officers advanced to receive him, but he slew them both, one after another, with two blows of his sword. All the other soldiers acted with the same intrepidity; so that their constancy gave opportunity to Silla*, who commanded the camp in Cæsar's absence, to come up to their succour with two legions. The troops of Pompey could not bear their first onset; and it is believed that Silla might have given them a total defeat, if he had pushed his advantage. But as the duties of a lieutenant are different from those of a general, and such a one acts by limited orders, whilst the other follows his judgment in full liberty,

* Cornelius.

Cæsar

Cæsar himself excuses him, for having been content with driving back the enemy, and disengaging the fort. They found in the circuit of the fortification, thirty thousand arrows, which were presented to Cæsar at his return, with Sceva's shield pierced with two hundred and thirty blows. Cæsar, according to custom, caressed, with great distinction all the soldiers of this band. He doubled their pay, their quantity of corn, and made them presents of ornaments, pikes, and other marks of honor. As for Sceva, he received a very large honorary reward, and was raised from the eighth company to the first. Pompey removed not his troops from the castle, but only encamped out of the reach of the arrows. He had lost two thousand men, and six ensigns in all these different attacks. After this, he made in a small time, great works about his camp; viz. redoubts, ditches of fifteen foot broad, strengthened with palisades on the side of the enemy. In fine, after having walled up the gates of his camp, he chose a dark night, and retired with all his troops, to his former entrenchments. Cæsar being animated with his good success, every day offered him battle before his camp; and tho' Pompey drew up in order of battle, he always kept his troops under the defence of the ramparts, where Cæsar did not judge it proper to attack him. Pompey had sent in his vessels all his horse to Durazzo, that they might find an easier subsistence, and endeavour to incommode the enemy by their incursions: but Cæsar possessed himself of the two avenues, which only left them the liberty of making

making their fallies: thus Pompey was obliged to make them return into his camp the same way. They suffered much, the horses being forced to eat the leaves of trees, twigs, and bruised reeds, which made them extremely lean; the horsemen themselves subsisted with difficulty, because all was consumed, in the neighbouring circuit, and they were obliged to fetch their provisions at a distance: thus this general was resolved to make the last effort to force the entrenchments, which kept him too confined. Roscillus and Ægus, sons of Albucillus, a man of the first quality in Savoy, served under Cæsar from the beginning of the Gaulish war, where they had performed several bold actions: they had not been ill recompenced, for besides the dignity of senators which he had granted them, they had received great riches from his gratitude, and saw themselves very rich, tho' they had been straightened in their circumstances before. These two men, supported by the friendship of the general, and puffed up with a sottish and brutish arrogance, treated with great contempt the subaltern officers: concealed the number of their horse, and appropriated to themselves all the plunder of their troops. This obliged the men to bring their complaints before Cæsar. To which they added, that their companies had never been complete, tho' their officers had received their intire pay. Cæsar not judging the time convenient for examples, and that it was necessary to grant something to the preceding merit of these two brothers, put off the examination of the affair; but he did not fail of telling

telling them his sentiment in private, and assuring them, they might gain much greater advantages by doing their duty. These two men provoked by this remonstrance, and thinking that perhaps he would not stifle, but only defer his resentment of their bad conduct, resolved to quit his service, and go over to the enemies camp. Thus after a vain attempt of killing Volusenus, general of the horse, they borrowed large sums of money, carried off several horses with them, and went to join Pompey. He received these men with so much the more pleasure, as this desertion was extraordinary, none of Cæsar's men having before that time deserted to Pompey, tho' every day several of his came over to Cæsar's party.

C H A P. XL.

Pompey attacks the entrenchments of Cæsar. A great disorder among the troops of Cæsar. They are encouraged by his presence.

THE Savoyards knowing all the weaknesses of Cæsar's entrenchments, informed Pompey, which confirmed him in the design which he had already taken. He made helmets of osier, for all his soldiers, and ordered them to cut up turf. When all this was ready, he embarked upon his sloops and merchant vessels
a great

a great number of archers, and light infantry. At night he drew out sixty cohorts from his camp and forts, to that part of Cæsar's entrenchments that was nearest to the sea, at the greatest distance from the general's quarters. These vessels loaded with turf and light infantry, landed at the same time in that place. The questor Lentulus Marcellinus commanded there under Cæsar. And as he was indisposed, Posthumus gave orders under him. That side of the rampart which looked towards the enemy was ten foot high, and as many broad, with a ditch of fifteen foot; and Cæsar, who had foreseen that Pompey might attempt this post by sea, had drawn another parallel to this, at a hundred paces distance. This was indeed less deep; because his design was to draw a third, which should join both of them on the sea side. But the cruelty there was in forcing fatigued soldiers to continue on works, which already took up nineteen miles in compass, hindered the execution. In the mean time his negligence in this point had like to have lost him his fortune and reputation. Pompey was informed of this, as we said before, by the Savoyards. Thus he approached at break of day, with all the forces I have mentioned, to attack the cohorts of the ninth legion, who guarded the sea coast. They were surprised by the light infantry, and archers, who attacked them with arrows from the vessels. The ditches were filled up with those turfs with which Pompey had loaded his vessels; and the legionary troops, planted their ladders against the rampart, while others drove off with arrows
and

and machines, all those who defended them. The elastic osier helmets covered them from stones, which were the only arms Cæsar's men could use on this occasion. Thus the soldiers being attacked on all sides, and seeing the enemy advancing to surround them, by that place where the entrenchment was not fortified, abandoned their posts and turned their backs. Upon this news, Marcellinus ordered some cohorts to march out for their support: but the fright and confusion of those who fled from the camp, entangled them in their route; and all the other troops which were sent, did nothing but encrease the disorder. All the officers of the first cohort perished on this occasion, except the first centurion. He who bore the eagle of the legion, finding himself mortally wounded, called some horsemen. "I have preserved, says he, this
" ensign several years at the hazard of my life,
" at present finding myself in the article of
" death, I restore it to Cæsar with the same
" affection." "It is your duty to take care it
" be not lost, a misfortune which never yet
" happened to our troops; save the ensign, and
" restore it to Cæsar." Thus the eagle was saved; but slaughter spread on all sides. In the mean time Pompey approached the camp of Marcellinus, where fear already began to insinuate itself, when Antony appeared with twelve cohorts upon a neighbouring eminence. Pompey upon this made his soldiers halt, and Cæsar's troops recovered courage. Cæsar arrived a moment after, with other cohorts, and ordered the signal of succours to be given, by thick
smokes

smokes from all sides. And as he saw that Pompey, who was retired, had forced those lines which were to enclose him, he found it proper to change his design, and fortified immediately a post near the sea, upon which he encamped, that he might have the liberty of forage, and correspondence with his vessels.

C H A P. XLI.

Cæsar is beaten in a great battle. Pompey loses the occasion of intirely defeating him. Sentiments of Cæsar upon this occasion.

AS his entrenchments were almost finished, his spies brought him word, that a legion was behind a wood, and was marching to seize upon Pompey's old camp. We must know, to have a just idea of this, that when the ninth legion had made head, as we have before mentioned, against Pompey's troops, and had pushed them back with advantage, Cæsar had posted himself in the very place where the action had happened. This camp extended itself to a wood, and was not above four hundred paces from the sea. Some days after, Cæsar quitted this post, which Pompey seized on; and because he had a greater number of legions, he only ordered another cover to be made, of the first camp, without ruining its fortifications. He had likewise drawn

drawn from the left angle of his camp a line of about four hundred paces, to the river, to water his army with security: but a little time afterwards he changed this design, and abandoned the post where the ramparts were still standing: this was the place whither the legion was marching; Cæsar's centinels gave him notice, and those who had seen this motion from the eminences confirmed the news. He thought that fortune now presented him an occasion of repairing the loss he had suffered, and leaving only two cohorts to make some figure upon his ramparts, he marched the most privately he could with thirty-three. The ninth legion was in this body, tho' it had lost a great number of soldiers and several officers. His army was in two lines, and he at the left wing. Every thing succeeded at first; he arrived in this camp before Pompey could have notice of it, and that wing he conducted, charging with fury the ramparts, drove back those who defended them. The battle was dreadful at the gate, where the passage was embarrassed with a kind of chevaux de frise. Pulcio who had betrayed the army of Caius Antonius, defended it with an extraordinary valour. But at last Cæsar's men forced their way with superior vigour; and having cleared the passage, got within the first inclosure, and attacked the second fortress, whither the legion had retired. Abundance of soldiers were slain in this place, and the action had been very glorious and advantageous to Cæsar, if fortune, who takes a pleasure to shew her power in all the circumstances of human life, but especially in war, had

had not shewn her usual inconstancy. The cohorts of the right wing of Cæsar's army, seeking for the entrance of the camp, followed on the outside that trench which led to the river, believing it the rampart. When they perceived their error, they endeavoured to pass, and as no one was there to make defence, they easily completed their design: all the horse followed these cohorts, and sought a passage through some breaches. This unseasonable motion gave Pompey time to come in to the succour of his men, with the fifth legion, drawing up before him all his horse. This legion appeared just in that time; and the two contending parties in the camp discovered Pompey marching with his legion in order of battle. At this sight all things changed; and the besieged legion recovered courage, at the sight of this succour, so that they made a sally to attack Cæsar's men, while his horse, who were in disorder at the passage of the rampart, only thought of saving themselves, and his right wing separated from the left, sharing in this consternation, and fearing to be cut to pieces in this narrow passage, flung themselves into the breaches with so much fear that several of them falling into the trenches, others passed over their bodies to save themselves. The soldiers of the left wing, seeing Pompey's succours, with the route of their own men, and having an enemy both before and behind them, endeavoured to withdraw from danger, by that passage where they entered. In fine, the disorder, fear, and route, were so great, and so spread themselves on all sides, that notwithstanding

standing the efforts of Cæsar, to stop the ensigns that now began to fly, many of them abandoned their colours and horses, continuing their flight on foot. One amongst others who was tall and strong, but distracted with fear, presented to Cæsar the point of his lance, and would have pierced him, if his esquire, at the same instant, had not cut off his arm with a stroke of his sword. But at length, a part of Pompey's cavalry, presenting themselves at the gate of the camp, obliged the fugitives to make head in this place. Pompey pursued his victory to the very camp of Cæsar; but he durst not attack it, in which he committed an irreparable fault, which cost him very dear afterwards. Cæsar himself acknowledges, that his whole army might have been entirely defeated on this occasion; and he said afterwards, that he had been ruined without a possibility of retrieval, if Pompey had known how to have used this victory. He gives three reasons for Pompey's fault; he feared falling into some ambuscade; that his horse amused themselves too long in endeavouring to force the gate of the entrenchment; and that this defeat suddenly happening beyond his hope, he could not on the spot take a prudent resolution. To this may be added, that Pompey's troops had too eagerly pursued, in spite of him, the fugitives; and that he would not engage himself in the attack of Cæsar's camp, knowing too well, that he should have behind him a brave and enterprizing enemy, with a great part of his forces.

C H A P. XLII.

*Discourse of Cæsar to animate his troops.
He decamps to march towards Thessaly.
Pompey follows him.*

CÆSAR lost a great number of his men in these two engagements, which happened the same day. He acknowledges the number to have been nine hundred and sixty soldiers, thirty-two ensigns, and many good officers; amongst others Tuticanus, Felginas a Gaul, another Felginas of Placentia, Gravius, Sacrativer, and thirty tribunes or centurions. This victory very much elated Pompey and his party; they spread its fame over the face of the earth; and a report ran that Cæsar was entirely defeated, and fled before Pompey, with the remains of his miserable troops. It was fact that he passed a very uneasy night; made many reflections upon his conduct; but as he knew the valour of his soldiers, and that this disorder only came from their imprudence, and not the real courage of the enemy; besides, being perfectly acquainted with the instability of fortune, and the effects of panic fear, which is capable of shaking the courage of great armies, he abated nothing of his high spirit or elevated hopes: but however he now thought it proper to change entirely the face of the war, and to speak to his soldiers in a general assembly. He made them leave all the forts, and when they were come

together, he said to them: " I see nothing on
" this occasion which ought to afflict you ; for
" after so many battles, wherein you always
" had the glory and advantage, a little disgrace
" of fortune ought not to alarm you, or dispirit
" such brave men. We ought to return thanks
" to fortune, for letting us conquer all Italy,
" without the expence of one wound ; subject
" the two Spains defended by powerful armies,
" and headed by experienced generals ; in fine
" reduce so easily, the rich and fertile provinces
" which surround us on all sides. Remember
" still the felicity you had in passing the seas,
" so as to penetrate hither, thorough numerous
" fleets of the enemy, whilst not only the ports
" but shores were possessed by their troops. If
" fortune seems to have abandoned us in this last
" adventure, correct her caprices by your valour
" and heroic resolution. It is evident, it was
" her fickleness, and not your cowardice, which
" caused us this disgrace. The field of battle
" was well chosen ; you forced the enemies
" camp, in the first struggle ; you drove them
" before you sword in hand. And if after this
" a little inadvertency, confusion, or fortune,
" took this advantage from us, you ought to
" recover it by distinguished valour. Thus this
" misfortune will turn to your glory, and
" those who have shewn some fear in the last
" battle, shall be the first to charge the enemy
" on the next occasion." He broke some en-
sigs after this harangue ; but needed to use no
other chastisements. The soldiers offered them-
selves, and would undergo any penalty or labour
to

to appease him. They asked a second battle, that they might perish or revenge him on the enemy. Some of the officers would have had him to indulge this ardor. Cæsar was not of their sentiment. He ordered, in the beginning of the night, all the baggage to advance towards Apollonia, with the sick and wounded. He gave them a legion for an escort, with orders not to stop a moment till they reached that place. This order being executed, he retained two legions in his camp; and at three a clock in the morning he made the other legions go out of the gates, and follow the baggage. Some time being elapsed, he ordered the usual cries to be made, of observing always military discipline, and marched at the head of two legions, to join the main body of his army; which he did with great expedition. Pompey lost not a moment, after he was certain of his enemies design. He left his camp with all his army, and sent his cavalry at full speed to stop Cæsar's troops; but as they were pretty far advanced, and marched without baggage, Pompey's horse did not come up with them, till towards the close of the day, at the passage of the river Genusus. Cæsar opposed his cavalry to Pompey's, with four hundred of his bravest soldiers intermixt; who caused a great confusion amongst Pompey's men, and obliged them to retire. Thus he passed the river, and returned to the camp he had occupied before. He kept all his infantry under arms in his entrenchments; and ordered his horse to retire quickly, after they had cut down a little

forage. Pompey likewise returned to his former camp at Aspargus; and as his soldiers had nothing to fortify, in a place that had been entrenched for a long time, some of them were scattered about in seeking wood and other necessities, whilst others, who out of precipitation had left something behind them, went back to fetch it, after they had left their arms in the camp. Cæsar, who imagined things would happen as they did, decamped the following day, and hastening on his troops, he gained eight miles march, before Pompey was in a condition to follow him. The day following, Cæsar departed at break of day, making his baggage always go before him, that nothing might trouble the order of his army, which marched as to a battle. He used the same method the following days, and passed in this manner rivers and ways that were very difficult, without the loss of a man: for tho' Pompey pursued him with great diligence, the advantage of time Cæsar gained the first day, and the perplexity of his numerous baggage, obliged him to quit his design of this useless pursuit on the fourth day.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

Cæsar goes to Apollonia. Domitius joins him. Taking of Gomphi and Metropolis.

CÆSAR was obliged to go to Apollonia, for the refreshment of his sick, to make a review of his army, and leave some troops in that place, for the preservation of his allies. He employed in this journey only what time was necessary, for a man who had so much upon his hands, and he returned to his troops with his ordinary diligence. He feared lest Pompey might surprize Domitius Calvinus, one of his lieutenants, who was in Macedonia with three legions, and assisted by Cassius Longinus. They had before them Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey, who commanded the Syrian legions, with Favonius and other officers, and had made several motions to find an occasion of engaging him with advantage. The design of Cæsar was either to draw Pompey far from the sea, and oblige him to fight; or if this general passed over into Italy, to join Domitius and return by Illirium, in pursuit of Pompey: or in fine, to attack Scipio, if he besieged Oricum, or Apollonia, whom he knew very well Pompey would never abandon. Pompey had designed to surprize Domitius, before Cæsar's arrival. Thus these two generals marched with extra-
H 3
ordinary

ordinary rapidity. Pompey's march was by the mountain of Candavia, and Domitius seemed by his conduct to deliver himself up to his enemies. The news of the battle at Durazzo had turned the minds of the people in favour of Pompey. They had stopt all Cæsar's couriers to Domitius, who having no news of the two armies march, had posted himself at Heraclea. This village was upon the mountain of Candavia, where Pompey's army was to pass to enter into Macedonia. Cæsar's journey to Apollonia had retarded his march; thus all things seemed to conspire to the destruction of Domitius, which was inevitable, had not some Savoyards, belonging to Roscellus and his brother, met by chance some spies of Domitius. As they had served together in the wars of Gaul, they did not treat one another on the footing of enemies. But out of a vanity natural to soldiers, they said Cæsar had been beaten, that he was retreated, and that Pompey approached with all his troops; this notice saved the other party; for Domitius made his retreat so seasonably, that he went off but four hours before the arrival of Pompey. He went to Ægiva, upon the frontiers of Thessaly, where he joined Cæsar. When this general saw all his forces joined, he marched directly to Gomphi, the first place that offers itself to a traveller, who comes from Epire into Thessaly. The inhabitants had at first assured Cæsar of their obedience; but they had changed their note as well as other towns, since the noise of the defeat, and were persuaded to it by Androthenes,

thenes, prætor of Theſſaly. He was then in the city, and made the gates be ſhut againſt Cæſar; but he had firſt ſent to Scipio and Pompey to have ſuccours. Scipio was at Lariffa, and Pompey was not yet in Theſſaly; this is what obliged Cæſar to attack Gomphi. He made ladders, and all other neceſſary inſtruments of war to be in readineſs. And after having repreſented to his ſoldiers, the advantage there would be in taking by ſtorm a place that was rich and full of all ſort of proviſion; he ordered the aſſault to be made with ſo much vigor, that the city was carried by ſtorm about nine a clock the ſame day. He abandoned it to plunder, and without ſtopping he marched his army directly to Metropolis, to prevent the news of the taking of Gomphi. In effect, the inhabitants of Metropolis had a deſign of bearing a ſiege, but the priſoners taken at Gomphi, which Cæſar ordered to be ſhewn them, rendered them wiſe by the other's example; ſo that they opened their gates to him, and he took care of preſerving them. This conduct made return to his party all the villages of Theſſaly, excepting Lariffa, which was occupied by Scipio.

C H A P. XLIV.

Scipio joins his forces with those of Pompey, they encamp in the plains of Pharsalia. Approach of the two armies. Dissatisfaction of Pompey.

POMPEY arrived in Thessaly a few days after the taking of Gomphi, and advanced near the village or town called Pharsalia, where Scipio joined him with his two legions. He was received by his son-in-law with very great magnificence. Pompey would divide the command with him. He gave him a general's quarters like his own, and according to the custom of the Romans, a trumpet gave the signal, every day from Scipio's tent, as well as from Pompey's. Caesar was at this time giving orders for the subsistence of his army, and studying the affection and disposition of his soldiers. When he perceived there was no bad impression left in them of the battle of Durazzo, he drew them out into the plain of Pharsalia, where Pompey was encamped. The approach of these two armies, in which was the flower and choice of all the Roman legions, whose valour was to decide the destiny of this great empire; the mutual hatred and ambition of the generals, animated by so great a prize as well as glory, both which were to be in possession of the conqueror; and the little appearance there was of any accommodation,

commodation, made the whole world be astonished, and judge, that a decisive battle only could terminate so famous a quarrel. Pompey's party, elevated by the advantages gained at Durazzo, made no doubt of victory. Every motion which had not a tendency to battle, appeared to them an uneasy obstacle of their return to Italy. They said that Pompey was flattered with the pleasure of command. Domitius called him Agamemnon, intimating he commanded kings: and Favonius, after his light manner, said to the senators, that they were not to eat that year Tusculan figs. Besides, Domitius, Scipio, and Lentulus, already began their intrigues, to a degree of quarrelling for the charge of sovereign pontiff, which Cæsar possessed. They in fancy divided amongst themselves other dignities. Several had already sent to Rome to hire houses, neighbouring to the place, set apart for the election of magistrates, that they might be lodged more conveniently, for the discharge of those offices they pretended to; and Arius Rufus would accuse Afranius, as he said, for having sold Spain to Cæsar. This obliged Afranius to retort, by asking every where, why they did not seek out this merchant of provinces? in fine, every one thought of applying to himself the fruits of victory, without thinking of the means of obtaining it. Cæsar had a quite different conduct. He encouraged his soldiers by skirmishes. He sent out daily parties to try them, and exercised the youngest men of his legions, to mix themselves amongst the horse, and dispute the prize of swiftness.

against the horse themselves. Thus although Pompey surpassed him in number of cavalry, his horse assisted with this light infantry, no longer feared them, but in a rencounter defeated a considerable number, and killed one of the Savoyard deserters. When Cæsar knew that his troops were full of their former ardor, and that they wished for nothing but to attack the enemy, he drew them out of his camp, and presented Pompey battle. This general had no design of a second engagement, but of harassing and consuming Cæsar's troops, by fatigue and famine. He came out of his camp indeed; but he kept always under his entrenchments, at the foot of the eminence where he was posted. Cæsar could not attack him in this posture without great disadvantage; which made him resolve on decamping the next day; that he might fatigue by frequent motions Pompey's troops, that were not hardened to labour as his were. He made the carriages be loaded in the night, the tents were already folded up, and they sounded a march in his camp, at the break of day; when they came to acquaint him that Pompey's army was in order of battle at some distance from his entrenchments. Cæsar made all his troops halt. "My companions and fellow soldiers, (said he, with an extreme joy, which shewed itself in his countenance,) let us defer our march and think of battle. It is what we have wished for a long time. Let us not slip the favourable opportunity which presents itself. Perhaps our enemy will not be always in this sentiment, and we
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“ may have a difficulty to find again, so convenient a season.” After this short speech, he disposed his army, and led his troops to the field of battle.

CHAP. XLV.

Pompey is forced to give battle against his judgment. His discourse with Labienus. Presages.

POMPEY could hold out no longer against the instances and murmurs of his officers. They had at last so determined his resolution of giving battle, that he promised them the entire defeat of Cæsar’s troops. It was in a council of war, where all the senators assisted, that he spoke to this purpose. “ I know well that the execution of my promise appears difficult to you, but you will not doubt of it, when I have explained to you the means. I am promised by my cavalry, that they will attack in flank the enemy, before they can discharge their spears. Thus we shall gain the victory without hazarding our legions, or its costing us one drop of blood. As you know the advantage which the number and valour of our cavalry have, above that of the enemy, I do not doubt but every one will make himself sure of success, and prepare himself boldly for the battle, which has been the

“ desire of all for so long a time. And I hope
“ you will maintain the esteem which the whole
“ world has conceived of your valour.” Labienus spoke after this many things in contempt of Cæsar’s troops, and with high adulation of Pompey. “ Do not think, said he, that these
“ are the same soldiers that conquered Gaul,
“ and overcame the Germans. I assisted on
“ all those occasions; and advance nothing
“ which I am not well informed of. Scarce
“ any of those veteran troops now remain.
“ Many are fallen in battle; the autumnal
“ sicknesses carried off others, and the rest
“ have retired to their own homes. These
“ troops that you see before you, are new levies, which he has made in Cisalpine Gaul,
“ of the poorest sort of peasants, the bravest of
“ which fell in the last battle at Durazzo.”

Afterwards Labienus took an oath, that he would never return to the camp, without being conqueror; and exhorted all others to do the same thing. Every one swore in turn, and this new kind of oath redoubled their hope and joy. Because, as Cæsar says, “ A general so experienced as Labienus, could not be supposed
“ by them to swear a thing, unless he thought
“ himself sure of the event.” In the mean time, presages were not favorable to Pompey. That night which preceded the battle, he dreamed he was in his own theatre at Rome, where the people received him with great acclamations, and that he went afterwards to adorn with martial trophies the temple of Venus the victorious. This dream signified the glory of
Cæsar,

Cæsar, who derived from Venus the original of his family. Plutarch and some other authors explain it thus. There was seen likewise a fire, or shining meteor, which kindling over Cæsar's camp, seemed to rise in the air and dart upon Pompey's; there was likewise at the break of day, one of those false alarms in Pompey's camp, which are called panic fears. On the contrary, Cæsar had happy presages; for he whom they called Haruspex or Southsayer, who had the care of enquiring into futurity, by the inspection of entrails, told him two days before the battle, that he foresaw a change in his fortune, and that prosperity depended on his valour and that of his troops.

C H A P. XLVI.

Order of the two armies. The two generals speak to their soldiers to encourage them.

POMPEY's army consisted of forty-five thousand foot and seven thousand horse, which made five legions with those cohorts, which Afranius had gotten together after his defeat in Spain. These and the legionary cohorts were to the number of one hundred and twelve, seven of which he had left to guard his camp. All these troops were in three lines, each legion composing three battalions, the first sustained by
the

the second, and the second by the third. The battalions were of sixteen hundred men; that were ranged by half cohorts: that is to say, two hundred men in front, and eight deep. The Syrian legions had the centre, and Scipio was their commander. The Spanish cohorts, and the legion from Cilicia, which were the principal hope of Pompey, were drawn up on the right, under the command of Domitius Eno-barbus. Pompey placed himself on the left, where Lentulus commanded those two legions which Cæsar had returned at the beginning of the war. The other cohorts were drawn up in the same order, betwixt Scipio's legions and the two wings. The auxiliary troops, at least those who fought in order, such as the Grecians, formed the body of reserve. In regard of others, Pompey placed them out of the ranks upon the left, with his archers, slingers, and all his cavalry, for his right was fortified with a rivulet very difficult to pass. Cæsar had eighty cohorts, who, notwithstanding, did not compose more than twenty-two thousand men, reckoning the two cohorts which he had left to guard his camp. His army was likewise in three lines, and the same order as that of Pompey. The tenth legion had the right hand of all. The ninth was on the left; but because this legion was weak, the eighth was so near, that these two legions almost made but one body, with orders to give one another mutual assistance. The other cohorts were drawn up betwixt these legions in the centre, where Domitius Calvinus commanded. Sylla commanded the right, and Antony the

the left. Cæsar put himself at the head of the tenth legion, whose valour he had proof of by many experiments, which he did likewise to oppose himself to Pompey, whose design was to flank Cæsar's troops; but he perceived it by the order of his battle, and drew six cohorts out of all his troops, to compose of them a corps de reserve. He instructed them very exactly what they were to do. Especially he made them understand, that the hope of victory was grounded in their valour. He ordered besides this, the third line not to march till he had given them a signal for so doing. In fine his cavalry, to the number of a thousand, covered the right side of the tenth legion. Both the armies being in fight; the two generals rode from rank to rank, to animate their foldiers. "Pompey represented to his men the justice and merit of their cause, the advantage of their number, strengthened by the assistance of so many illustrious senators, and the victory they had already gained at Durazzo. Cæsar was contented with remonstrating, that he had sought all ways of coming to a good accommodation, and that he several times put it in the power of his enemy to have spared the lives of so many brave men, and such an effusion of blood. And as he saw his soldiers begin to shew an impatience for action, he immediately gave the signal of battle."

C H A P. XLVII.

Battle of Pharsalia. Boldness of Crastinus. Great battle. Flight of Pompey, and defeat of all his troops.

THERE was in Cæsar's army a volunteer, called Crastinus, who had been the preceding year primipilus, or first brigadier of the tenth legion. This man approached Cæsar and said: "My general, I design this day to give you reason to praise me, whether I survive the occasion or not; and then calling to his soldiers whom he had commanded, follow me, said he, this is the last opportunity you will have of acquitting yourselves of your duty, and gaining your liberty." He advanced at these words, followed by about one hundred and twenty volunteers. There was no more space betwixt the two armies, but what was just necessary for the field of battle. But Pompey had ordered his men to be still in their posts; this order has been blamed by Cæsar. We may be satisfied with his judgment, and the reasons which he gives for it in his commentaries. His soldiers seeing that the enemy would not save them the half of the way, acted like men who perfectly understood their business. They made an halt by their own direction in the midst of their career; and after having taken breath a moment, they ran up to the enemy, launced their javelins, and drew their swords as Cæsar had

had ordered. Pompey's men received the discharge without disorder. They then made theirs, and drew their swords. Their shout of battle was, Hercules the invincible, and the shout of Cæsar's, Venus the victorious. The battle became cruel and bloody, betwixt so many brave men, animated by glory, as well as opposite interests. All their ambition was to drive back their enemy, or die in the place where they stood, without being astonished at the horrible noise of arms, or the lamentable cries of the wounded and dying, which fell on all sides. Crastinus with his little company forced the rank which opposed him, pierced even to the third line, where he was stopt, and struck dead with a sword, which separated his head to the nape of his neck. Thus victory was balanced in this place, when Pompey ordered the charge of his cavalry. It was composed of the most illustrious amongst the Roman nobility, as well as allies, all young men well made, and who had a particular care of their persons. They drove back at first Cæsar's cavalry, and had gained the flank of his army, when this general made advance those six cohorts which he kept as a corps de reserve. Their orders were to march with raised spears, and aim directly at the faces of the enemy. This unexpected kind of fighting disconcerted these young men; for the fear of having their faces disfigured with wounds, put them in disorder; and Cæsar's horse rallying the same instant broke them, and obliged them to betake themselves to flight. They rallied no more, but gained by galloping the neighbouring mountains.

mountains. All the slingers and archers being thus abandoned by the horse, were cut to pieces, after which the Cæsarians pursuing their advantage, came to charge the naked flank of Pompey's troops. They had a long time maintained their ground with great firmness, opposing themselves every where, tho' they saw themselves abandoned by their allies: and now Cæsar made his signal for the advance of his third line. Thus these fresh troops, pouring in upon Pompey's wearied men, that were now attacked on all sides, easily broke them. The flight began by foreigners, who threw themselves into the camp, pillaged what they could, and then made off. Pompey's right wing still made resistance. In this moment, Cæsar made it be proclaimed, mercy to every Roman, but spare no foreigner. This was the reason that the Romans immediately flung down their arms to have quarter, which was not refused them. But they made a terrible slaughter of others. Pompey seeing himself, (as he said afterwards,) betrayed by the cowardice of those troops in which he had put his greatest confidence, retired from battle, as soon as he saw the defeat of his horse, and entered his camp. Upon his entrance, he said to the officers on guard, "Gentlemen, defend bravely the lines, if there should happen any disgrace of fortune; and I shall give the like orders every where." After which he retired into his tent, oppressed with anxiety, to wait the event of all; in the mean time Cæsar, who saw the certainty of victory, cried out to his soldiers, that they must push their advantages
and

and take the enemies camp. Tho' they were wearied with heat and fatigue, for it was now noon, yet seeing their general march on foot at their head, straight to Pompey's entrenchments, they durst not refuse to follow him. The cohorts of the guard, and the auxiliaries of Thrace, made a vigorous resistance. But in fine, being pressed on all sides they gave way, and fled to the mountains, which were very near. Pompey took no resolution, worthy of his courage and high reputation, he even gave no orders for his defence, and when Cæsar's men had already passed his lines, he cried out, "what! are they even in my camp?" And getting on horseback, he saved himself by the postern gate, flying towards Larissa, where he durst not stay. But with the same speed gained the sea, where he embarked on a trading vessel, with thirty gentlemen who had followed him. Cæsar found every where, almost throughout the camp, the cloth laid, with magnificent buffets of plate. Lentulus's tent was covered with ivy and other foliage, to keep it cool, this shewed the confidence they had by preparing for themselves pleasures, after a victory, which they believed certain. He begged of his soldiers not to amuse themselves in pillage, before they had completed the victory, which he obtained by his authority, and the great respect they had for him. He made trenches immediately be opened, round that mountain whither the enemy was retired. And as it wanted water, he obliged them to abandon it, and march towards Larissa. Then he separated his troops; he left a part of them

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as a garrison of Pompey's camp; sent another part as a guard for his own; and marched in person, with the fourth legion to intercept his enemies. He drew it up in order of battle, about six miles from that place: this is what put a stop to Pompey's men. They were upon an eminence, which had a river at its foot. Caesar notwithstanding the weariness of his men, and the approach of night, obliged his soldiers still to take this conveniency by an entrenchment from their enemy. This last necessity obliged them to capitulate, during which, several senators escaped by favour of the night. He ordered all these soldiers to come into the plain, and lay down their arms: they obeyed, and flung themselves upon their knees before him, begging his pardon; he encouraged them in terms full of generosity, and forbade his soldiers to do them any insult, or even pillage their equipage. He then sent back those troops who had followed him, and ordered fresh ones to come up, with which he marched towards Larissa, where he arrived the same day. It was thus he knew how to use a victory, and make the best of his advantages. And tho' we learn all these particulars from himself, yet having never been contradicted by any historian, we have no reason to doubt of them; but we have great reason to admire his conduct, valour, activity, and in fine, the obedience and regard which his troops shewed for him. He lost not in battle above two hundred men, among which were found thirty of his best officers. This small number on his part seems surprising; for on Pompey's side there
were

were fifteen thousand slain, and twenty-four thousand submitted to Cæsar. When he viewed the field of battle filled with dead, “ They “ would have it so, (said he to Pollo.) Cæsar “ after all his great actions had been condemned “ to an ignominious death, if he had not been “ supported by the bravery and fidelity of his “ troops.” They brought him one hundred and eighty colours, with nine eagles. In fine, several of the commanders of Pompey’s army perished on this occasion, and Domitius amongst others was slain, by some of Cæsar’s horse, while he was endeavouring to save himself by flight over a mountain.

C H A P. XLVIII.

*Pompey puts to sea. He receives king
Dejotarus, and goes to Amphipolis.*

IN the mean time, Pompey having abandoned the city of Larissa, dismissed all his slaves who followed him, and took his way to the sea, through the agreeable valley of Tempe, so celebrated by poets, accompanied only by a small number of his friends. The two Lentulus’s were of this number, with Favonius, who either out of respect or pity, did him all the kind offices of a faithful servant, and acquitted himself with so good a grace, that Pompey was obliged to admit them; yet he could not forbear expressing his gratitude in a Greek verse, the
sense

sense of which is this: "That every thing be-
" comes a sincere and generous mind." In this
condition, very different from that of the pre-
ceding day, when he was covered with glory,
commanded kings, and had all the splendor of
Rome in his retinue, he now found himself
obliged to seek a retreat in a fisher's cottage;
where after a few hours rest, he went on board
a small vessel, to endeavour by that means to
gain Amphipolis. As he coasted close to shore,
his friends perceived a merchant ship commanded
by one Petilius. This was a Roman of the
order of the people. Tho' he knew not Pompey,
but by sight only, he had dreamed that he saw
him in a miserable state, very different from
that lustre he had seen him in at Rome. As he
was telling his dream to his friends, one came
and told him, they saw a little vessel rowing to
the ship, and the persons on board it asked suc-
cour. This obliged him to run up on deck,
from whence he knew Pompey again. Then he
ordered his long boat to be put out, and in-
viting this general, he held out his hand to assist
him to get up, with all those who accompanied
him, not daring to inform himself of the dis-
grace, which had driven him to this extremity.
They were already setting sail to leave the coast,
when they perceived king Dejotarus on the
shore, who held out his hands for them to take
him on board. They sent out the bark, which
brought him to them, and Pompey made them
take the route to Amphipolis. In this place he
consulted his friends, what resolution they were
to take. The great confidence he had put in
the

the number and courage of his troops, as well as his too certain hope of victory, had hindered him from taking any measures of preventing the calamity he was fallen into, and altho' he experienced sometimes before the disgraces of fortune, yet as she had never surprized him, asleep as it were with confidence, he always came off with advantage. But on this last occasion, he had no thought but of certain victory, and therefore his defeat was so much more fatal, as it found him, if I may use the expression, naked and disarmed against bad fortune. This was still the reason of all the false steps, which he took towards the end of this war, when he withdrew himself from the sea to pursue Cæsar in Thessaly. And his unlucky fortune took from him his senses to such a degree, that he forgot to make use of those great advantages, which were still left him at sea, where his army was very strong and even victorious. Lælius, who commanded a part of it, had besieged Vatinius, lieutenant of Cæsar, in the port of Brundisium, and Cassius in two engagements had burnt above forty ships of the enemy, in the Streights and port of Messina. Pompey's astonishment and hard fate hindered him from profiting by these victories, so as still to have a resource by putting himself at the head of his naval power. He staid but one day at Amphipolis, where to disguise his designs, he published orders to all the Roman citizens, and to all the youth of Greece, to come to him. But when he understood that Cæsar was on his march, he waited for no one, but set sail for Lesbos.

C H A P. XLIX.

Pompey meets his wife at Lesbos. He takes the resolution of retiring into Egypt. Achilles, Photinus, and Theodotus, counsel the king to put him to death. Pompey is slain by Septimius, a Roman.

HIS wife Cornelia was at Mitylene, capital of that island, with the youngest of her children. Pompey's letters after the battle at Durazzo, had given her promising hopes, and she was expecting to hear of the intire defeat of Cæsar, when Pompey arriving in the port, sent to her one of his friends. The melancholy aspect of this messenger, and his tears, made Cornelia understand the misfortune that had happened, she fell into a swoon, and was a long time without any senses; when she had recovered herself, they told her that Pompey waited for her in a single vessel, and that even borrowed; which obliged her to run on foot to the place where Pompey waited to embrace her, and this interview had something very melancholy and affecting in it. She accused herself of being the sole cause of her husband's misfortunes, complaining that fate had made her enter into the house of young Crassus, and afterwards into that of Pompey, for nothing but the ruin of those two illustrious families. Pompey endeavoured

voured to forget his own anguish, that he might assuage that of Cornelia; and he appeased her at length by his tender caresses rather than his reasons. And yet he could not hinder himself afterwards from complaining of the Gods and their providence, in discoursing with Cratippus, a famous philosopher, who was then at Mitylene; it being natural to the pride of man, to rise up insolently against God, when he is forced to bend to creatures. In fine, Pompey carried with him Cornelia, and sailed into Cilicia with some vessels that had joined him. And from Cilicia he returned to the island of Cyprus, where he had the news, that the city of Antioch and Rhodes had declared against him: 'this made him resolve, after long deliberation, upon retiring into Egypt. Ptolomy reigned at that time, son of that Ptolomy, whom Pompey had re-established in his kingdom by Gabinius. This is what made him unhappily prefer this country to all others, which were proposed to him for his retreat. The king was very young, and governed by Achilles, who commanded his army, by Photinus, an eunuch and his first valet de chambre, and one Theodotus, his preceptor. He was then at Pelusium, with an army which he headed against his Sister Cleopatra, whom those villainous ministers had obliged to retire from court. Pompey sent some of his friends to the king, to ask of him succour, and a retreat in his state. As this request perplexed him, he remitted the affair to his counsel; thus the destiny of the great Pompey was trusted to the hands of three notorious knaves. Photinus

and Achillas were of different opinions. One would have him sent back again, the other received ; when Theodotus, to shew his eloquence, endeavoured to prove, that neither of them spoke according to good policy : “ that according to “ the last opinion, they would have Pompey “ for master, and Cæsar, for enemy ; but the “ first would make enemies of both ; Pompey, “ because he was refused, and Cæsar, because “ they had suffered him to escape ; that it was “ better to invite and dispatch him ; by this “ means they would gain the friendship of Cæ- “ sar, and be under no apprehensions of Pom- “ pey’s resentment :” adding for conclusion, this maxim, which has since become a proverb : that a dead lion can no longer bite. Following this resolution, they sent Achillas, accompanied with Septimius who was tribune, and who had been centurion under Pompey, Salvius another Roman, and three or four soldiers. They entered into a bark, which brought them to the vessel, where Pompey was with his wife and all his friends. This manner of reception appeared to them a bad omen ; especially to Cornelia, who could not refrain from tears. But as he saw the king’s ships already weighing anchor to invest his, and that Septimius still saluted him as general, he resolved to do with a good grace, what he could not avoid ; and giving his hand to Achillas, who had saluted him in Greek, he turned to his wife and son, repeating two Greek verses, which signified : “ He that ventures into “ the house of a tyrant, becomes his slave, tho’ “ he

“ he entered free.” Two of his captains went into the bark with him, as well as one Philip and Scynes, the first a freedman, and the other one of his slaves. As the passage was pretty long from the vessel to the shore, and no body spoke to him, Pompey addressing himself to Septimius, who stood up according to the Roman discipline, which permitted no subaltern officers to sit down in the presence of their general, said to him, that he believed he had seen him formerly. Septimius answered only by a sign of the head ; which obliged Pompey to take out his tablets, to read over the speech he designed to make to Ptolomy. In the mean time, the bark coming to shore, several of the Egyptian soldiers ran to meet it ; and as Pompey gave his hand to Philip, that he might more easily get up, Septimius from behind ran his sword quite through his body. He fell by the wound, and seeing Achilles and Salvius running to him with naked swords, he covered his head with his robe, and without giving any mark of weakness, he offered himself generously to their swords. At this terrible spectacle all, who were in Pompey’s vessel, raised a general cry of lamentation. But as the galleys of the Egyptians were advancing towards them, the care of their own safety made them for some time forget compassion, that they might save themselves by their sails, and a favourable wind that rose that instant. Such was the tragical end of great Pompey, who after having escaped so many dangers, in which he might have died honorably, lost his life miserably

rably by the hands of three or four villains, who were soon after punished for their horrid crime by Cæsar. He died aged fifty-nine, on the eve of his own birth day.

C H A P. L.

Philip, Pompey's freedman, pays him his last duties. Fatal adventure of Lentulus.

AFTER they had cut off the head, the body remained some time upon the shore, exposed to the curiosity of Egyptian soldiers. After this his freedman, who never left him, carried it to a retired place. where he washed it in the sea, and covered it with his own cloak. As he was getting together some planks of an old ship, to make a funeral pile, there came to him an old man, a Roman who lived in Egypt, and had served formerly under Pompey: “ Who art
 “ thou, (said he to Philip,) who makest this
 “ preparation for the funeral of the great Pompey? Philip answered, that he was one of his
 “ freedmen. Ah, (replied the old man,) thou
 “ shalt not have alone this honor, and I beg of
 “ thee to let me have a share of so religious
 “ and just an action, that amidst the displeasures
 “ of my banishment, I may have at least this
 “ comfort, of touching and putting upon the
 “ funeral

“ funeral pile, the body of the greatest captain
 “ Rome ever saw.” They thus did him the
 last offices to human nature, and this melancholy
 ceremony had something singular in it. Len-
 tulus who came from Cyprus and knew nothing
 of Pompey’s piteous death, came to this place
 in a boat. The fire gave him curiosity, and he
 made his boat draw near, that he might speak
 with Philip, whom he did not yet know.
 “ Who is, (said he to him) with a melancholy
 “ reflection in himself, the unhappy person who
 “ has finished his destiny in this place? alas!
 “ added he with a sigh, is it possible this can
 “ be the great Pompey?” When he was got
 on shore, he learnt from Philip, that his con-
 jectures were but two well grounded; and his
 grief and astonishment keeping him too long
 in the place, he was surprized by some Egyptian
 soldiers, who led him to the king, and he was
 put to death in prison by his orders. Cæsar
 afterwards built a magnificent sepulchre in this
 place, with a temple, which he named the
 temple of Indignation; and it is probably this
 place, which travellers call Pompey’s pillar.

C H A P. LI.

Cæsar pursues his victory. Cassius surrenders with his fleet. Cæsar lands in Egypt. Insolence of Photinus and Achilles.

IN the mean time Cæsar, who knew that all the hopes of his enemies consisted in Pompey's person, pursued him with his ordinary diligence, at the head of his horse, and gave orders to one of his legions to march after him. As he understood at Amphipolis, that Pompey had left Greece, he resolved to pass over into Asia, but wanting proper vessels, he put what troops he had on barks. Fortune, on this occasion, once more shewed that she would have a share in his elevation. Cassius, who was retiring into Asia with a fleet of sixty large ships, found himself amongst Cæsar's little vessels; and this man, who had afterwards the assurance to kill him in the midst of Rome, could not have wished for a more favourable opportunity of dispatching him with honour. Cæsar was not in condition of making any resistance, notwithstanding he sailed up to him as a conqueror, which so astonished Cassius, who otherwise was very brave, that he went into his long-boat, to fling himself at the feet of Cæsar. He gave up into his hands all those ships he commanded, and asked of him no other favour but his life, with the

the same submission as if he had been conquered. Cæsar granted him it with his usual clemency, and sailed into Asia; where, after having given some orders, and having hindered the ruin of the famous temple of Diana of Ephesus, which Appius had a mind to plunder in the name of Pompey, he understood that Pompey was retired into the island of Cyprus. He no longer doubted but his design was to go into Egypt; and not to give him time to fortify himself, he passed over to Rhodes, where he embarked with two legions, which were now reduced to three thousand hundred men, with eight hundred horse. These forces were but small, the confidence he had in his victories, and the high reputation they had given him, assured him of being feared and obeyed every where. Thus he sailed directly for Alexandria, without waiting for the rest of his troops, but left orders for them to follow him immediately. He learnt on his landing the tragical end of Pompey, whose head they presented him, with a ring which was his seal, according to the use of that age. This melancholy spectacle, that friendship he had formerly entertained for Pompey, and the humbling picture of the miseries of the greatest men, made him burst into tears. He turned away his face with horror, and bid him who brought him that mournful present, withdraw from his sight. He only kept the ring, on the stone of which was engraved a lion holding a sword. And after this made his entry into the city as Roman consul. The soldiers who were in garrison were offended, because he made the axes be car-

ried before him, and said that this action was in contempt of regal authority; which gave rise on the following days to some insurrections, in which several Roman soldiers were slain. This obliged Cæsar to send new orders to his troops of joining him quickly; for contrary winds obliged him to continue where he was. He drew to him by presents and promises, several of Pompey's soldiers, who were dispersed in that kingdom; and writ to his friends at Rome; "That the sweetest of all the fruits of his victories was the pleasure he took daily in saving the lives of some of those who had born arms against him." In the mean time, to shew a greater confidence in his fortune, he made great feasts, and assisted at the conferences of philosophers, of which that city was full. But Photinus, who was returned to Alexandria with the king, gave him daily new proofs of his wicked intentions. He had written to Achilles, who commanded the army, to come to Alexandria, and this succour rendering him insolent, he ordered spoiled corn to be given Cæsar's men. Nay one day, when Ptolomy treated Cæsar in his palace, he ordered services or courses to be brought in earthen vessels; saying, that those of gold and silver were pawned to pay the king's debts. The reason was, because Ptolomy's father owed Cæsar eight hundred thousand crowns, three hundred thousand of which he remitted in favour of his children; but demanded the remainder for the necessities of his present affairs. And Photinus replying upon this, that he would do better to think of his other affairs
of

of greater importance; Cæsar answered, "that he would not take advice from Egyptians." In fine, the insolence of this eunuch, which shewed itself on all occasions, and perhaps the reputation of the extreme beauty of Cleopatra, obliged him to declare, that he would take cognizance of the difference betwixt the king and his sister, as being the chief of the Roman magistrates. For Ptolomy the father had named by his will for his heirs, the eldest of his two sons, and the eldest of his two daughters; and conjured the Roman people by the Gods, and that alliance which was betwixt them, to execute this testament, of which he sent a copy to Rome. It was on this that Cæsar grounded his proceeding. But whilst he entered into the detail of this affair, Achilles came to Alexandria at the head of his army. These troops were formidable, both by their number and valour. They were composed partly of the old soldiers of Gabinus, the most of them had been married in Egypt, and had contracted the manners and customs of the Egyptians; and partly of Syrian robbers, banditti of Cilicia, and other neighbouring provinces, with banished persons, and fugitive slaves, who found a sure retreat at Alexandria, provided they would take on in the troops, and had a certain protection from their fellow soldiers, who were sure of snatching them from the hands of their masters, if they endeavoured to recover them. These troops by a monstrous licence, but customary to such sort of men, had the power of demanding the death of ministers, of pillaging the possessions of the

rich, under pretence of encreasing their pay, and by revolts and tumults even of dispossessing or making kings. There were besides these, two thousand old horsemen, exercised in all the wars of Alexandria. They had placed old Ptolomy upon the throne, had killed the two sons of Bibulus, and made war a long time against the Egyptians.

C H A P. LII.

Cæsar fortifies himself in Alexandria. He is attacked by Achillas. He seizes on Pharos. Cleopatra inspires him with love. He is besieged by the Egyptians.

CÆSAR, who knew the valour and experience of these troops, not finding himself strong enough to fight in open field, took care to fortify those quarters of the city, where his legions were, and make sure of the king's person. He likewise deputed, in the king's name, Dioscorides and Serapion to the army, who were the principal friends of old Ptolomy, and had been sent formerly ambassadors to Rome. But Achillas instead of giving them audience, ordered them to be attacked; so that one of them was killed upon the spot, and the other saved his life by feigning death. After this violence, Cæsar fortified those parts of Alexandria, whither his

his troops had retired, who were attacked on the following day by those of Achilles. Cæsar's soldiers supported this first assault, and drove back their enemies. Their principal design was to seize on fifty ships and twenty-two galleys that were in the port. This obliged Cæsar, after a very long and obstinate battle, to possess himself of Pharos, and set fire to the ships. The flames of which being driven by the wind to some neighbouring houses of the port, consumed by a misfortune which can never be sufficiently deplored, that famous library of the kings of Egypt, composed, as some authors have written, of seven hundred thousand volumes. The Pharos was a tower of surprizing height, raised upon that island, which made the port of Alexandria. This tower was built with so much art and magnificence, that it has always passed for one of the seven wonders of the world. This island was full of houses, and joined to the continent by a bridge at the end of a mole, which was very narrow, and eight hundred paces long. The taking of this post rendered Cæsar master of the sea; but it was closely besieged on the land side by the troops of Achilles. Besides, the people of Alexandria were against Cæsar, and without that respect which they had for the person of their prince, they would several times have attacked the palace where they both lodged. But Ptolomy being forced by Cæsar, appeased their insurrection by his presence. Cæsar, that he might have only those enemies to fear that were out of the palace, had dispatched Photinus, and had sent for Cleopatra, whom he would

I 6

marry,

marry, as he said, to her brother, according to the custom of the Egyptians, and the order of their father's testament. This eunuch was killed in going from a festival, he had been at with the king, under pretence that he had conspired against the life of Cæsar, and designed to steal away young Ptolomy, and carry him to the camp of the Egyptians. This was not without foundation. Ganimede, another eunuch, had carried off Arsinoe, the youngest of Ptolomy's sisters, had made her be acknowledged queen, and it was in her name that Achillas made war against Cæsar. But this enterprize, which had at first perplexed him, turned at last to his advantage. Ganimede could not bear, for any long time, the credit of Achillas amongst the troops, and he got him murdered that he might be declared general of the army. During this, Cleopatra came to Cæsar with great danger, but the subtlety of her wit and understanding saved her. She embarked in a small vessel with Apollodorus one of her domestics; and when she was arrived by night at the foot of the castle of Alexandria, this man folded her up in some baggage of his own, took her on his back, and thus deceiving the Egyptian guards, he carried her into Cæsar's presence. It is said that this mark, which she gave of her intriguing wit, contributed very much to kindle that warm passion which he had for this princess: at least, Plutarch says it was so. But in reality, without this invention, wherein the slave had the greatest part, Cæsar was too sensible of the charms of beauty not to be touched with that of Cleopatra. She

She was then in the flower of her youth, and one of those sprightly animated beauties, whose every feature has some peculiar charm. These advantages of body were heightened by superior wit, and so soft and melting a voice, that it alone, without the assistance of her eyes, which had the brightest splendor in them imaginable, ravished and transported the hearts of all those who heard her. Cæsar easily yielded her his, who had not even been able to defend it against Mauritanian queens *. He loved her passionately, and immediately declared himself for the interest of this princess. Ptolomy knew soon that Cæsar instead of judge betwixt himself and sister, was become her advocate, and that this change was the effect of love. The uneasiness he shewed at it to the people, made them once more rise in arms. But Cæsar obliged him to put an end to this revolt; and as Roman consul and tutor of young princes, he read in a great assembly the will of Ptolomy their father, and promised to see it executed. In this time Ganimede, to signalize himself in his new employment, undertook a great and difficult work, which had he succeeded in, must have ended the war in his favour. The city of Alexandria, if I may use the expression, was built upon a sort of vacuum, by the quantity of caverns and cisterns made to receive the waters of the Nile; which are excellent to drink, when they are cleansed from the mud and slime which the river brings down with it, but cause a great

* Eunole, wife of Bogud, king of a part of Mauritania.

many distempers among the poorer people, when they are forced to drink them by necessity as they find them. Ganimede was master of the Nile, which came into that part of the city which the Egyptians possessed. He stopt up all the canals which conveyed the water on that side where he was master ; and raised afterwards, by wheels and other machines, a great quantity of sea water, which he made run by channels into that quarter, where Cæsar received his fresh water. Immediately the first cisterns were spoiled by this salt water : which caused a great astonishment in Cæsar's advanced guards ; when they compared the taste of the water they drank, with that of those cisterns that were not so near the enemy ; but at length these last were found tainted as well as the others. This accident almost drove them to despair, they murmured among themselves, and accused Cæsar of obstinacy, for thus fighting at the same time against men and elements. But he raised their spirits by his discourse and authority ; and ordered wells to be dug along the shore which he was master of, where he found fresh water in plenty.

C H A P. LIII.

Cæsar receives succours. Naval battle.

Disorder among Cæsar's troops upon the mole. He saves himself by swimming. He restores their king to the Egyptians, who declares war against him.

IN the mean time the twenty-fourth legion came to his succour, and landed a little above Alexandria. Cæsar went to meet them with all his vessels, and was attacked in his return by the Egyptian fleet, which he beat with the assistance of some ships from Rhodes. He took one of the enemies vessels, sunk another, killed a great number of their men, and had not the night come on, he would have made himself master of all the fleet; Ganimede did all he could to dissipate the fear which this bad success had caused in his troops, and put to sea a more powerful fleet, with which he again attacked Cæsar. The battle was very hot; yet the valour and experience of Euphranor, who commanded the vessels which came from Rhodes, turned the advantage on the side of the Romans, who took two Egyptian galleys, and sunk other three of them. The rest saved themselves under the mole of Pharos, because Cæsar was only master of the town. This obliged him to make the isle and mole be attacked at the same time,
by

by ten cohorts of light infantry, and by Gaulish horse which he had chosen out of all his troops. The attack succeeded at first. The isle and mole were carried, and the Egyptians driven beyond the bridge. Cæsar immediately ordered it to be fortified, and stopped up with stones the under part of the bridge, that no bark of the enemy might pass under it. While they were busy in this labour, the enemy came from the city side to attack the head of the bridge, and the sides of the mole, with barks and boats. Cæsar was on the mole in person, to animate his soldiers every where, when a great number of rowers and sailors from his ships flung themselves upon it without order, some of them out of curiosity, and others out of a desire of fighting. At first they did their duty pretty well, with stones and slings; but as the Egyptians had observed they were in great disorder, they took the resolution of descending, and attacking them: upon this, these men flung themselves as imprudently into their vessels, as they had left them. Their flight raised the courage of the Egyptians, they pressed them closely with great shouts, which astonished the Romans who were defending the bridge, and believing they were already surrounded by the enemy, thought of saving themselves in their vessels. Their confusion was great, and the enemy killed at least four hundred legionaries in this defeat. Cæsar after having made his last efforts to keep his men from flight, was obliged to betake himself to his vessel. But as he perceived that the number of those, who flung themselves into the
vessel

vessel with him, would put it in danger, he leaped out, and swam with so great a presence of mind, that he would not quit some papers which he carried in his hand, nor his cuirass which he held in his teeth. He swam in this manner two hundred paces, before he came to his ships, from whence he sent boats and vessels to the succour of his men. Some were saved, but his own vessel, as he had foreseen, was sunk by the number of persons that were in it, and they all perished. This loss only provoked Cæsar's soldiers, without any way diminishing their courage: this appeared by their eagerness and emulation in the construction of works, which obliged the Egyptians to use artifice. They sent deputies to Cæsar to demand their king, saying that they were weary of the command of a woman, and the tyranny of Ganimede, and that they would make peace with the Romans under the authority of their lawful prince. Ptolomy on the other side, being thoroughly instructed in dissimulation, and the lessons of his governors, begged of Cæsar with tears, that he would keep him with him, because his company was more agreeable to him than his own kingdom. Cæsar was not ignorant of the treachery of this nation, but he believed it becoming his generosity to grant them their prince, that he might either win them over by this favour, or fight with more glory against a king. Thus he restored him to his army, where this king no sooner was, but he renewed the war with so much ardor, that it seemed, says Hirtius, the tears he shed at leaving Cæsar were tears of joy. In the mean time
Cæsar's

Cæsar's friends were marching through Syria to succour him ; and the Egyptians, who had notice of this before him, sought all occasions of hindering the convoys which came by sea. This caused another sea fight, where the brave Euphranor perished with his vessel, for having advanced too far, and having been ill seconded ; but the joy of this advantage lasted not long to the Egyptians. Mithridates of Pergamus, who was very considerable by his nobility, credit, and great reputation in war, had assembled an army in favour of Cæsar, in Cilicia and Syria, and came with these troops to attack Pelusium, which he forced. This city was the key of Egypt by land, as Pharos was by sea. From thence Mithridates advanced towards Alexandria, to succour Cæsar : which obliged Ptolomy to divide his troops, that he might defend the passage of the Nile. This river is divided as it draws near the sea into several branches, two of which that are the most considerable, leave betwixt them a great space of land, which the Egyptians call Delta, upon account of its triangular figure, which represents that Greek letter.

C H A P. LIV.

Mithridates defeats the Egyptians. He joins Cæsar, who attacks Ptolomy's camp. Defeat of the Egytians. Cæsar establishes Cleopatra queen of Egypt with her brother.

MITHRIDATES, who was instructed in the discipline of the Romans, supported the first onset of the Egyptians in his entrenched camp; but when he saw them retire in disorder, he made a sally upon them, and slew a great number before they could gain those vessels they had on the Nile. Cæsar and Ptolomy received this news at the same time, and marched immediately; one to join Mithridates, and the other to hinder this junction. The king went in his vessels along the Nile; but Cæsar, to avoid a naval battle, made a descent above its mouth on the side of Asia, and using his customary diligence, joined Mithridates without the least obstacle from the king. Thus all was reduced to the hazard of a battle. Ptolomy was advantageously encamped with the river Nile on one side, behind him a precipice, and on the other side a marsh. There was a river, or rather a canal betwixt the Egyptian and Cæsar's camp. The king commanded all his horse, and a detachment of chosen troops to defend this passage, where the banks were very high. The Romans
were

were driven back several times, at length the shame of seeing the Egyptians maintain an equal battle against them, obliged the Gaulish horse to throw themselves into several parts of the canal, that they might open themselves a passage, whilst the legionary troops crossed it upon great trees which they had cut down. This courage astonished the Egyptians. They retired to the king's camp, after having lost some of their men. The following day Cæsar having passed all his troops, ordered the camp to be attacked along the borders of the Nile, which was the easiest place: on this account the Egyptians defended it with their best troops, and neglected all other places which appeared inaccessible. Cæsar soon perceived it, by the great resistance he met with there. He therefore detached some chosen cohorts, under the conduct of Carfulenus, one of the bravest and most ancient of his soldiers, to attack the camp on the side of the precipice. They found little resistance, such an attempt having been thought by them against all probability. Thus they entered, and spread disorder all over the Egyptian camp. Every one endeavoured to save himself, and in this fear and confusion, the king having got into a vessel, was drowned with all those with him, who sunk it by their number. After this victory Cæsar found no resistance in Egypt. The city of Alexandria was the first to surrender. He entered as conqueror; and pardoned the citizens out of favour to Cleopatra, whom he established queen with her younger brother, who was called Ptolomy likewise, thus follow-
ing

ing the appointment of the father's will, and banished Arsinoe with Ganymede. After this, he gave some days to the love he had for this princess, and the rejoicings for his victory. Some authors relate that he went up the Nile with her, in a magnificent galley, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. In fine, he left her with child of a son, who afterwards was called Cæsarion; and departed from Egypt to go into Syria against Pharnaces with his sixth legion, all the others continuing by his orders in Egypt, to hinder the revolt of this new conquest.

CHAP. LV.

Cato retires into Africa, and Cicero into Italy, where Cæsar pardons him. Pompey's sons go into Spain. Cato joins Scipio and Juba. Disturbances at Rome.

POMPEY's death had not extinguished the war, but had spread it almost over all the parts of the world. Cato was at Durazzo during the battle of Pharsalia, where he commanded a powerful fleet, and from thence sailed into the island of Corsica. Here he met Cicero, who was not in this battle, and several other Roman senators who had escaped, among whom was the eldest son of Pompey. Cato, who al-
ways

ways governed himself by the rules of his country's laws, offered the command of the fleet to Cicero, who had been consul; but he not finding himself proper for war, refused it. This provoked against him Pompey's son, and the other young men of his party. They drew their swords upon him, and called him traitor, so that they would have killed him, if Cato had not interposed and appeased them. He fled to Brundisium, from whence he writ to Appius and Balbus, who were with Cæsar, to excuse him for having chosen an unsuccessful party. And though his brother Quintus by some motive, which he complains of in his letters, though he mentions not the subject, had accused him to Cæsar, and the son of Quintus did him many bad offices, Cæsar pardoned him, and treated him very kindly in Italy. The others took different resolutions, and Cato retired into Afric, where he hoped to meet Pompey, whose eldest son he sent into Spain. Cassius Longinus, whom Cæsar had left there, had quarrelled with the people, and even his own soldiers, by whom he was so roughly treated, that he was wounded upon his tribunal. This affair had had great consequences, and Marcellus *, though a friend of Cæsar, had declared himself against Longinus, and made war against him, when Lepidus arrived from Cæsar, to examine into the subject of their division. Longinus would not obey, but as he was retiring by sea with the booty he had made in his province, he perished at the Eber. These divisions gave room to the young

* Marcus Emitius.

Pompey of trying the affections of the people, and several Roman foldiers, who had a great veneration for the name of his father. By this means he affembled fome time after a confiderable army, whilst Scipio in Africa had joined king Juba, with Varus *, and had put himfelf in a condition of renewing the war in this province, by the affiftance of ten thoufand men, which Cato brought him. Pompey's youngelt fon met Cato upon the coaft of Africa, where he was informed of his father's death; this obliged him to put into Cirene, where he paffed the winter. From thence he penetrated the deferts of Lybia, after having provided himfelf with provifions, water, and above all, with men called Pilles, who cured by fucking the bites of ferpents, of which thefe deferts are full, and who had the art of charming their poifons. It was in this journey of feven days, that Cato fhewed his admirable conftancy, for he always marched at the head of his troops, and drank the laft, though the reft of his army, by the impatience of their thirft, ran to quench it in thofe wells they met with in the deferts. In fine, he arrived in Scipio's and Juba's camp; but the infolence of this barbarous king difgusted him fo, that it obliged him to retire to a city called Utica †, after leaving his troops with Scipio, which with thofe of Juba, formed a formidable body againft Cæfar. Befides he had informations of great difturbances in Rome, whither he had fent Antony, in quality of general of horfe; this was the next dignity to that

* Attius.

† A city of Africa.

of dictator, and gave Antony an absolute command in the city, while he was absent. Dolabella *, friend of Antony, who was then tribune of the people, and in Cæsar's interest, had taken it in his head to make void all former contracts, which they called at Rome making new tables. Antony at first supported his design; but as he had some suspicion, that Dolabella saw his wife a little too familiarly, he divorced her, and he joined himself to some senators who opposed the tribune. They were both young, bold, proud, and of high birth, so their division had fatal consequences, and they fought for it in the public square or forum, where after a bloody battle, Dolabella was fairly worsted.

C H A P. LVI.

Cæsar goes into Asia, and marches against Pharnaces, whom he defeats.

THIS news very much afflicted Cæsar, who feared these divisions might ruin his party, and that the insolence of his officers would render him more odious to the Romans. He knew likewise, that those soldiers he had sent into Italy, had lost all military discipline, and that his presence only could bring them back to their duty. Thus he resolved to make a tower into Asia, to establish peace in these

* Cornelius,

provinces,

provinces, and afterwards to repair to Rome. As Syria was peaceable, he left his relation Sextus Cæsar there with a legion, and embarked to go into Cilicia, where he went on shore, and advanced by great marches as far as Galatia. In this place Dejotarus, tetrach of that province, called king of Armenia by the senate, came to meet him, and excuse himself from following Pompey's party. Cæsar received him very humanely; and after some reproaches, for not remembering those kind offices he had formerly done him at Rome, he made him take again the marks of royalty, which Dejotarus had quitted, and joined this king's troops with his own. From hence he marched against Pharnaces, who had possessed himself of Cappadocia, and the lower Armenia, which he had taken from Dejotarus; and had defeated Domitius Calvinus, one of his lieutenants. This prince, who knew the necessity of affairs which called Cæsar to Rome, designed only to gain time. In this view he sent ambassadors to Cæsar. They prayed him not to treat their king as an enemy, for the interest of Dejotarus, "who had sent
 " troops to Pompey, whom Pharnaces neither
 " assisted with money nor troops; that since he
 " had pardoned that tetrarch, Pharnaces might
 " reasonably hope for the same favour; but
 " however Cæsar pleased to use him, he would
 " always obey his orders." Cæsar answered,
 " That this was the true means of shewing the
 " sentiments of a friend; what they said of
 " Dejotarus had no relation with the thing in
 " question, because none were ignorant that

“he took not more pleasure in pardoning the
“injuries that were done him in his own per-
“son, than he had zeal in revenging those that
“were done the republic.” The reason of
this answer was, because Pharnaces being puffed
up with pride after his victory, had treated in a
cruel manner those Romans that were found in
his provinces, by putting to death the full aged
men, and making eunuchs of the young ones.
Cæsar added: “That he must quit Pontus,
“and restore their goods to the Romans; and
“that then perhaps he might receive his pre-
“sent.” This was a crown of gold. Phar-
naces receiving this answer, required time to
satisfy him in what he desired; but Cæsar per-
ceiving his artifice, resolved to march to him,
with an intent of fighting him, or making him
obey. He had but four legions with him; one
of old troops, reduced by fatigues and marches
to a thousand men at most, one of Dejotarus,
and two of those that had been beaten under
Domitius. With these troops he advanced as
far as Ziela, a city of Pontus, near which Mi-
thridates had formerly defeated the Romans.
This omen seemed favourable to Pharnaces,
who was son of that king. Thus as Cæsar was
entrenching himself on an eminence, of about
a thousand paces from the enemies camp, this
prince out of contempt of the small number of
the Romans, and those troops he had beaten,
came out of his entrenchments, and attacked
the Romans. When Cæsar saw him in the
valley, which separated the two camps, where
his battalions were pressed close upon one ano-
ther,

ther, because this place was very narrow, and such as Cæsar said, no man of good sense would have ever chosen to engage in; he despised his want of experience. But when he perceived they suddenly mounted the hill, he admired his boldness, or rather his rashness, and immediately gave the signal of battle. This surprize caused at first some disorder among the Romans, which was encreased by those scythed chariots which were in front. This made the battle very bloody. But when Cæsar's men had recovered their ranks, and principally the veteran legion, they drove back their enemies, and defeated them with such a universal slaughter, that Cæsar could not help saying many times, that Pompey had been fortunate indeed, in acquiring his glory at so cheap a rate, and meeting with such weak enemies. It was on account of this victory, that he ordered at Rome, when he triumphed, this inscription to be carried before the spoils: * I came, saw, and conquered. In effect, this battle terminated the war. He took the camp of Pharnaces, who fled into the remotest parts of Asia. He abandoned it to the plunder of his soldiers; and after having sent back the troops of Dejotarus, and given his orders to the neighbouring provinces, where he left two legions under Cassius Vinicianus, and established Mithridates king of Pergamus in the kingdom of Bosphorus, who had served him so well in Egypt, he embarked and passed into Italy with such incredible diligence, that he surprised every body.

* Veni, vidi, vici.

C H A P. LVII.

*Cæsar returns into Italy. His troops
mutiny. He appeases them, and re-
turns into Africa. Several battles,*

COMING into Italy, Cicero and some of the partizans of Pompey came to meet him, he received them as if they had always been in his interest. This moderation, and the politeness of his behaviour gained him the love of the Roman people. He found no difficulty in appeasing divisions, or making himself be chosen consul; but he found not the same facility in regard of his troops, who came to such an excess of insolence, that the tenth legion, which he had always favoured upon account of its valour, revolted openly; and killed two senators, Asconius and Galba. Upon this he ordered other troops to march into Rome for the protection of that city, and notwithstanding the advice of his friends, he would go to the legion that had mutinied, and was assembled in the campus martius. Their pretence for revolting was those recompences that were promised them before the battle of Pharsalia. In the mean time, Cæsar appeared to them with a bold and threatening air, and the sudden presence of a general, famous by so many victories, so brave and so well made, inspired them with such awe, that they lost the power of speech. He ascended his tribunal: and when he

he had asked them with an air of authority, what they had to say about their recompences; they only desired of him leave to lay down their arms; alledging their age, wounds, and long services. "It is but reasonable, (replied he,) "I give you full liberty." This answer surprised them. They thought that having need of them, he would purchase their service with presents. And as they remained some time without speaking: "As for your rewards, (added he,) I will give them you, when I have triumphed over my enemies." This word rewards, appeased them a little, they thought he would forget their revolt. They were ashamed of leaving him, and besides expected greater advantages under his conduct. Moreover, they saw themselves exposed to all parties, there being no one in Italy who would dare to put himself at their head. Thus they waited with fear his further explanation, and his friends pressed him to it; when beginning to speak, he called them citizens. This word, which seemed to degrade them, was a thunder-stroke to them. They cried out confusedly; "no they were soldiers." And as he made shew of coming down in passion from his tribunal, they flung themselves at his feet, and conjured him rather to make them suffer the severest punishments, which their violence and insolence had deserved, than disband them thus shamefully. This was the point he aimed at. He remained a long time inflexible to their prayers and tears. In fine, pretending to be overcome by the prayers of his friends, he ascended his tribunal and said:

" That this revolt surprised him the more, as it
 " happened in that legion, which he had always
 " distinguished by his particular favours; that
 " he would not punish them, on account of his
 " former love, but that he would grant them
 " all he had promised, and even lands to subsist
 " on, after he had finished the war in Africa.
 " But that he would not have them follow him
 " to that war, designing they should remain in
 " Italy." This last expression greatly afflicted
 them. They offered themselves in punishment
 of their fault to be decimated; that is to say,
 that every tenth man, after drawing lots, should
 be put to death. This submission so thoroughly
 appeased him, that he gave them leave to follow;
 and thus came gloriously off, in so hazardous a
 case, by his resolution and policy. Caesar made
 but a short stay at Rome after this action. And
 when he had re-established order and tranquillity
 in the city, and left Antony to command in it,
 he hastened by great marches to Sicily. He
 would not enter into any town. But to shew
 the impatience which he had to pass into Africa,
 he encamped on the shore so near the sea, that
 its waves washed the foot of his tent. Though
 the winds were contrary, he did not fail of em-
 barking all the soldiers he had with him, viz. a
 legion of new raised troops, with six hundred
 horse. During this four other new legions, and
 a veteran one arrived, with two thousand horse;
 this obliged him to make all his fleet set sail,
 which he joined soon after, having left orders
 with Allienus, prætor of Sicily, to send the other
 legions as soon as they should arrive. As the
 troops

troops of his enemies were very numerous; for Juba had four legions, a great number of light infantry, and almost an infinite number of horse; and Scipio had gotten together ten legions, one hundred and twenty elephants, and several ships, which occupied all the ports of Afric. Cæsar had not appointed any certain rendezvous for his fleet. He arrived in four days in sight of the African coast; and sailing before the cities of Clupea and Neapolis, with a part of his ships, he presented himself before Adrimetum. Confidius commanded in this place; and Piso guarded the coast with two thousand Moorish horse. Cæsar made shew of attacking the fort, but landed a little further with about three thousand men, and fifty horse. He immediately forbade his soldiers to separate, and advanced with his troops towards the city; and having entrenched himself, he sent one of his prisoners to Confidius. But this Governor ordered him to be slain in his presence, after he understood that he came from Cæsar; and sent his letters to Scipio. Cæsar, who would not attack this place, marched along the coast towards Ruspinum, being constantly attacked by his enemy, who had made a sally; and it was upon one of these occasions, that thirty Gaulish horse beat two thousand Moors, and drove them to the very gates of Adrimetum. He durst not quit the sea, in the uncertainty he was in of the fate of the rest of his fleet. Though he had sent out ten vessels to have news of it, and taken the city Lepta, from whence he drew great provisions, he returned to the sea coast of

Ruspinum, and embarked with six old cohorts without discovering his design. When they perceived his absence in the camp, the soldiers were very much astonished: they passed a night in a kind of despair, whilst he cruised along the coasts and his good fortune made him meet with the rest of his fleet that were coming to him. He returned to his camp with extreme diligence, and drew up his troops in order of battle, to defend those who were landing. The astonishment ceased by his presence, and he decamped the same hour to penetrate into the country. He had scarce marched three miles, but his spies brought him word that the enemy appeared. A moment after he discovered a thick dust: this was Labienus, Scipio's lieutenant, who brought with him a great army to hinder his descent, or fight him whilst his men were in disorder. In reality, whatever Hirtius says in his commentaries, almost all authors agree, that Caesar was in very great danger; the number of his enemies far surpassed that of his troops, and his soldiers being almost all new levies, were not accustomed to the Numidian way of fighting. These men kept no ranks, as they continue to do at this day; but being perfectly well mounted, they fought by sudden starts and onsets, launching a great number of javelins, and retired as soon as the legions advanced towards them. Caesar had need to hinder his defeat of all his experience, and all his valour. He fought with his own hand, and took by the neck one that was flying with a legionary eagle, and brought him back to the first

first ranks. In fine, a soldier of the tenth legion, having slain with a spear the horse of Labienus, who insulted him, Cæsar took the time that they were rescuing Labienus, and made his legions do their utmost to open a passage through the enemy, who had already surrounded them. Thus he retired into his camp, notwithstanding the arrival of Petreius, who, as it is said, spared him on this occasion, under pretence, that they were not to take from Scipio their general, the glory of completing the victory. Soon after Scipio came to join his lieutenants, with eight legions and four thousand horse, publishing every where that Juba followed him, and was far stronger than himself. These reports were dreadful to Cæsar's new soldiers, fear appeared in their very faces and motions; and as it had made them very inquisitive, Cæsar assembled them all together to remove their further curiosity.

" I am glad, (said he) to acquaint you that in
 " a few days, Juba will arrive here, with ten
 " legions, thirty thousand horse, one hundred
 " thousand light armed foot, and three hundred
 " elephants. So if those who shew so much
 " curiosity on this head, and make so many
 " reasonings about the event, be not easy and
 " believe me, since I ought to know it, I will
 " send them upon the oldest of my ships, whi-
 " ther the wind and fortune shall carry them."

This discourse, which shewed a great confidence, inspired them with fresh courage, and put an end to rumours. It was true that Juba was approaching; but Bogud, king of a part of Mauritania, and Sittius a Roman established in Africa,

with several soldiers of Marius, had entered his kingdom, and made such progress in it, that they obliged him to return. Thus the war was carried on betwixt two Roman generals; and Cæsar who forgot nothing that might advance his affairs, knowing the popular opinion was, that the Scipio's were fated to triumph in Afric, chose amongst his troops a man of little repute, but who bore that name, with the surname of Salution, and issued all orders in his name, as if he had been the true general. In the mean time he fatigued the enemy by different motions, but always took care to entrench himself; and besides filling his ramparts with all missive weapons, he fixed pointed staves in the ditches. In this condition he suffered the insults of Scipio, who often presented him battle; yet Cæsar contented himself with sending out his horse, and giving his orders with so much tranquillity, that he never quitted his tent. And because his soldiers were not accustomed to war, he himself took the pains to instruct them perfectly, to shew them how they were to bear the attack of an enemy, and in what manner they were to make their retreat; the time of attacking, and that of returning to their ranks. In fine, all the necessary exercises, with the same care as it may be supposed Cæsar would instruct his own army. But yet he did not forget to call in foreign succours, and sent persons into different places, excusing none who delayed to perform his orders. At length Allienus sent him from Sicily two old legions, eight hundred Gaulish horse, and a thousand archers or slingers, who
came

came happily to Ruspinum. With this succour Cæsar came out of his entrenchments, and marched towards Uzita, as if he designed to attack it; Scipio came to the succour of this place, and this motion gave occasion to great conflicts, with little advantage to one or the other side. Cæsar's cavalry suffered much for want of forage, and were forced to feed their horse with the mossy grass of the sea-coast, which they washed to take out the salt, and mixed with it a little dogs tooth: the legions having brought with them no tents, lodged in very bad barracks. This inconvenience had like to have caused a great disorder amongst them, by a kind of prodigy; it happened thus, one night when the constellation called the Pleiades disappeared, there fell upon their camp stones in form of hail, which wounded several, and overthrew with the wind many of their barracks, so that they passed the whole night covered only with their bucklers. Yet nothing diminished their affection for their general; for some old soldiers having been taken at Thapsus in a vessel, and brought to Scipio, tho' he offered them considerable advantages, they refused to a man to follow him, and chose rather to be cut to pieces by the order of Scipio, than suffer the shame of being called deserters. In the mean time, Juba being solicited by the letters of Scipio, and having left Saburra to defend his kingdom; arrived with three legions, eight hundred bridled horses*, and a very great

* This distinction was made because the Numidians brought their horses to war without any bridle, and turned them to the right or left with a whip.

number of light infantry, with thirty elephants. His presence increased the courage of Scipio's troops; but this barbarous king would have himself more respected than the Roman officers, and treated them with contempt. They attacked several times those parties which Cæsar sent to the war, and oftentimes disturbed their works, till one day Juba, Scipio, and Labienus, at the head of all their cavalry, came to insult the legions in the sight of the camp. Cæsar's horse were obliged to give way, but the legions snatching up their arms, and marching out in good order, the horse returned with such courage to the battle, that without a great darkness caused by dust, and the approach of night, Juba and Labienus had fallen into Cæsar's hands, and their horse had been intirely defeated.

CH A P. LVIII.

Cæsar punishes the seditious, and after several motions defeats Scipio and Juba.

THESE exploits gave great spirit to Cæsar's troops, when the ninth and tenth legion arrived in his camp. He had still at heart the insolence of those mutineers, of whom he designed to make an example to the rest of his troops. Thus being informed that one Avienus, a tribune of that legion, had taken up

up a whole ship with his equipage and horses; without receiving any one soldier, he judged this a proper occasion; and being assured of the affection of the rest of his soldiers, he assembled all the officers of this legion. "I could have wished, (said he to them) that certain persons had quitted their too insolent and haughty carriage, and made some reflection on my indulgence, my lenity, and my patience. But since they would prescribe to themselves no rules, I am resolved to make an example of them, according to just military discipline. Thus you Avienus, who have stirred up the soldiers, who owed allegiance to Rome, against the republic, who have committed a thousand injustices in the cities of Italy, and who are become useless to the republic, as well as to my service; since instead of soldiers, you have filled a vessel with your equipage, and deprived the republic of so many serviceable persons, I banish you from my army, and command you to leave Afric, and remove yourself as far as possible. As for you Fonteius, a seditious tribune and pernicious citizen, I order you to go out of my camp; and as for you Salienus, Tiro, and Chusinas, who having obtained by my favour and not your merit, the rank which you hold, nor have ever shewn valour in war, or probity in peace, and have always been more busy in raising seditions against your general, rather than to shew the modesty of men of honour; I declare you unworthy of ever commanding in my troops, and order you this moment to depart

“depart from Africa.” He immediately put them in the hands of some centurions, and without leaving any but a slave to each, he made them embark upon different ships. On the other side, Juba who gave law in the other party, and made an arrogant use of it, even in regard of Scipio himself, obliging him to quit his purple coat of arms, which was the mark of a general, presented every day his troops in order of battle before Cæsar’s camp, who thought himself engaged by honor to leave his entrenchments. Scipio had placed all his legions, and those of Juba in the first line, the Numidian foot in the second, whose wings seemed to be double, because the elephants were upon the right and the left of them, and behind the elephants were the Numidian cavalry. All the bridled horses and the light infantry were upon the right, the city of Uzita upon the left. He did this with a design of surrounding the troops of Cæsar. In Cæsar’s order of battle, the seventh and ninth legion were drawn up on the left, the twenty-ninth and thirtieth on the right, with four legions in the centre. The new legions formed the second line, and he had made a third which took up but half the left of the second line, the right being defended by his entrenchments. He had placed here all his horse; and as he did not entirely trust to them, the tenth legion was commanded to support them. His light infantry were disposed at intervals among the horse. In this condition the two armies were in sight of one another, at about three hundred paces distance, from morning to about

about four o'clock in the evening without fighting; which perhaps would not have happened at-all. But Cæsar having a mind to retire, all the Numidian horse fell upon his left wing, so that his horse advancing against them with too much eagerness, there were a great many wounded, besides one slain, with twenty-six men of light infantry. Night hindered the continuation of this action; and Scipio retired into his camp with a great deal of joy. All Cæsar's thoughts aimed at freeing his men from too great an apprehension of the enemy, and especially of their elephants. And as he had some in his own camp, he accustomed his soldiers to approach them without fear. He made them observe those places, where these beasts were the most easily wounded, and ordered the men who fought on them, to throw darts without points upon the horse, to accustom those animals to bear the sight of them. In fine, after he had gained by these exercises the advantage of seeing they feared them no more, he moved his camp, always endeavouring to post himself advantageously. After several motions and some skirmishes, in which Labienus was beat, perceiving the enemy began to fear the courage of his legions, he marched to attack the city of Thapsus, where Virgilius commanded as deputy for Scipio, a strong garrison. Scipio, fearing should he lose this city, he should thereby lose his reputation, came likewise to post himself three leagues from Cæsar, where Juba and he entrenched themselves in two camps. There was near Thapsus

a lake of salt water, about fifteen hundred paces from the sea. The design of Scipio was to throw troops into the place by this neck, or Isthmus. But Cæsar, who had foreseen this intended motion, had built a fort, and placed a guard in three places: which obliged Scipio, after some fruitless attempts, and passing a day and a night upon the banks of the lake, to make his troops labour to entrench themselves at fifteen hundred paces from Cæsar's fort. Cæsar received this news at the break of day; and leaving Asprenas with a legion for the guard of his camp, he marched directly to the enemy betwixt the lake and the sea. He sent orders likewise to those who commanded his vessels before Thapsus, to leave some to defend the passage of the port, but to advance with the others beyond Scipio's camp, and at the first noise of the battle to land their men, and attack the enemy on that side with the loudest shouts they were able to raise. Cæsar's army marched in three lines, the four best legions in front, and the five others as a body of reserve; and there were five cohorts on the wings to fight the elephants, with the bowmen and slingers. The light foot was mixt with the cavalry. As for himself, he was on foot amidst the ranks, and animating his soldiers both by his presence and words. He found Scipio in order of battle before his entrenchments, where a part of his army were still hard at labour. But at the sight of Cæsar's army his men began to give way. They were seen to run from one side to another, enter into the

the camp and come out again in disorder, which very much animated Cæsar's men. He yet opposed their impatience, and ran up to the warmest; when at the same time a trumpet on the right, without his order, sounded the charge of battle. Immediately the cohorts rushed forwards, in spite of the centurions who withheld them. Cæsar perceiving this, gave immediately for the word of battle, *glory and success*, and ordering his horse to be brought him, charged himself first of all the enemy. Scipio's elephants were immediately put to flight by the archers and slingers from the right wing, and trampled under foot the soldiers who were behind them. They then forced their way into the camp. The Moorish horse being thus left by the elephants, were soon put to flight, and Cæsar's legions cutting all to pieces who resisted, gained the entrenchments of the enemy. The garrison of Thapsus having made a sally, were repulsed by the very servants in Cæsar's camp. And disorder and confusion spreading itself every where, Scipio's men thought of nothing but flying back to that camp they had left but two days before. But seeing themselves without a general, flung down their arms to make that greater speed towards Juba's camp. Cæsar's troops which had not engaged were already masters of it. Thus Scipio's distressed soldiers retired to an eminence, but tho' they made a sign of surrendering, and saluted as fellow-citizens Cæsar's men, laying down their arms, the veterans being heated by blood and transported by rage, after having wounded some senators,

senators, and killed others whom they hated, put all at last without distinction to the sword in the sight of Cæsar himself.

C H A P. LIX.

Death of Scipio and Juba. Cæsar marches towards Utica. The voluntary death of Cato.

PLUTARCH says, there fell in this battle fifty thousand men. Hirtius only mentions ten thousand, and so signal a victory only cost Cæsar fifty soldiers. All the leaders of this party, seeing no remedy, perished by different accidents. Scipio endeavoured to save himself by sea, but seeing his ship ready to be taken, he ran his sword through his own body. Juba and Petreius fought against one another; and Petreius falling by the hand of the king, this prince ordered one of his slaves to deprive him of life. Afranius and Faustus, sons of Sylla, were taken by Sittius, who put them both to death. Labienus only saved himself in Spain, and all Africa submitted to Cæsar, excepting the city of Utica. Cato commanded there with some few troops, and had assembled a kind of a senate, composed of three hundred Romans who had joined him. He received the news of Scipio's defeat by some of that general's horse, which had rallied in pretty good order. And as the inhabitants

inhabitants of Utica had always appeared well affectioned to Caesar; Cato to make sure of them, had ordered them out of the city into an entrenchment. The horse took this occasion to plunder them, but Cato immediately ran up, and by his prayers and authority restrained them from doing violence. They offered likewise to follow him, if he would withdraw with them. But he gave them to understand, he designed to bear a siege. But when he had once entered again into the city, he found their minds so divided, and so little settled, that he quitted that design, to take a resolution more conformable to his character, and that philosophy he had always made a profession of. Notwithstanding he gave his orders every where with an astonishing sedateness and courage. He dismissed the horse, for fear they should commit some new outrages. He exhorted some of his friends to save themselves by sea, and others, such as Lucius, a relation of Caesar, to have recourse to his clemency. He recommended his own children to Lucius, and made a long harangue to the eldest, to persuade him never to meddle with the affairs of so corrupted a state. In the evening he sat down to supper as customarily, for he never lay on a couch after the death of Pompey, as he like other Romans had done before. Some of his particular friends were with him, and with them some philosophers. The conversation turned upon philosophy, and Cato maintained this maxim, "That the truly virtuous were always happy and free; and that the wicked were always slaves, and consequently

“quently unhappy.” He grew so enflamed in his discourse, contrary to his usual custom, that his friends easily discovered there was some great emotion in his mind, and that his soul was filled with some grand object. They could not forbear shewing him the sensible grief, and apprehension they had for him: this made him change his discourse, and obliged him to feign an attention to public affairs, and give several orders, more thoroughly to persuade them, that life was not a thing totally indifferent to him. He went to rest a little time after, having tenderly embraced his son, and those who had followed him; but his seeming overflow of kindness redoubled their suspicions, and obliged them to remove his sword, which he always had laid by him. He took up, after he was alone, one of Plato’s books, which treats of the immortality of the soul, and after having read some time in it, he sought for his sword, and not finding it, he called one of his slaves, without shewing any emotion, and only bid him bring it. But as they did not obey him; he called for it a second time, and was so transported with passion, that he struck one of his slaves so violently that he wounded his own hand, crying out at the same time, he was betrayed, and that his pretended friends had a mind to deliver him unarmed to his enemies. Upon this noise, his son and friends entered his chamber. He spoke to them with choler. “How long is it, (said he to them) that you have observed I have lost my right reason? or why do you not endeavour to persuade me by arguments, without

“ without forcing me from my own sentiments?
 “ Turning to his son, he added: why do
 “ not you with thy associates bind my hands,
 “ that I may no longer be in a possibility of
 “ defending myself against Cæsar? for I have
 “ no need of a sword to end my own life.
 “ Can any one want means of meeting death?
 “ could I not suffocate myself, or beat out my
 “ brains against the wall?” His son at these
 words burst into tears, and left his father with
 Demetrius and Apollodorus, who were two
 philosophers, and Cato’s familiar friends. After
 this, he began to speak in a sedate, but very
 serious manner. “ Are not you too, said he,
 “ of the same mind, that a man of my years
 “ should be forced in spite of himself to con-
 “ tinue in life? and only remain here to be
 “ silent, and my guards? but if you have any
 “ solid reasons, why in this extremity I should
 “ do nothing unworthy of myself by submitting
 “ to the conqueror, I desire you would acquaint
 “ me with them, that I may think it no dis-
 “ grace, or meanness to beg my life of the
 “ victor. Cato has hitherto always thought
 “ otherwise. Why do you not produce them,
 “ to confute me? that rejecting the maxims of
 “ the sovereignty of virtue, and becoming wiser
 “ and humbler by the means of Cæsar, we may
 “ acknowledge ourselves obliged by his conduct
 “ to us? Speak. I see you pause. I have not
 “ spoke this, because I have as yet taken any
 “ ultimate determination. I would deliberate
 “ with friends, and philosophers. When I
 “ have

“ have thoroughly examined those books and
“ reasons which philosophy and learning can
“ suggest, I need then no farther direction.
“ Are you silent? retire then and acquaint my
“ son, that it is not his duty to compel me by
“ force, to what he cannot evince the obliga-
“ tion of from reason.” Demetrius imme-
diately left the room, and they sent him his
sword by a young slave. He examined if the
point was good, and the edges sharp, and find-
ing it to his wish; he laid it near him, saying,
I am once more in my own power. He took
up Plato’s book of immortality, which he read
twice over, and afterwards fell into so deep a sleep,
that he was heard to snore in the antichamber.
At midnight he called two of his freedmen,
one Cleanthes a physician, and one Butas. He sent
the latter to the port, to inform him if all those
who chose to embark were gone; and ordered a
plaister to be put to the hand he had hurt. This
seeming precaution pleased greatly his family.
Butas came to tell him, that every one was on
board, and the sea very much agitated. He
shewed a great concern for those friends who
were in the ships, and sent Butas again to know
if any were left behind, and needed his advice
or assistance. Day now began break, when
Butas came to acquaint him that the sea was
calm, and that there was an entire silence in the
port. Cato dismissed him; and his slave had
scarcely left him, but Cato took his sword and
wounded himself a little below the stomach.
The wound he had before in his hand, weakened
the

the blow: so that he did not immediately die; but in the struggle betwixt life and death, he fell from the bed, and overthrew a small table, where he had been drawing some geometrical figures. Upon this noise his slaves re-entered, and the outcries they raised, made his son and friends rush in. They found him bathed in a deluge of blood, with his bowels out of his body, and their surprize and grief were so great, that they only looked upon him with astonishment. His eyes were still open, which soon reminded his physician to get him placed on the bed; and after having put in his bowels, he sewed up the wound. Cato recovered the presence of his mind, and with a rage that had all the symptoms of the utmost fury, he pushed away the physician, tore open his own wound, and even rent his very entrails, in which agony he died. Thus died Cato, at the age of fifty-five. But tho' this last action had many admirers, yet Brutus, who was his nephew, condemned it in a book he writ on purpose; and the reasons are very obvious, which ought to make us look upon it with horror. Cæsar was of the same sentiment, and writ a book on the same subject. When he was told of his death, he cried out that Cato had envied him the glory of giving him his life; and for this reason, added he, I envy him his death. He pardoned his son, who afterwards died at the battle of Philippi, more gloriously than he had lived, having shewn too strong an attachment to the wife of a Cappadocian prince, who was called Psyche, which in Greek

Greek signifies soul, and her husband Maphradates, which made the Romans say that Cato and Maphradates were good friends, for they had but one soul. And they added this pun, that Cato must be generous and magnanimous, because he had a royal soul.

CHAP. LX.

Cæsar returns to Rome. The pomp and magnificence of his triumphs.

UTICA surrendered to Cæsar, after the death of Cato. He pardoned the inhabitants; but he put to death all who fell into his hands, of those two hundred who had assumed the quality of senators. Thus Africa was entirely subjected, and he returned to Rome, that he might triumph after all his victories. He first of all, that he might gain the people's favour, explained to them in a speech, that his last victory had acquired to the republic so rich and extensive a country, that it alone could furnish two hundred thousand sacks of corn, and two million pound weight of oil yearly; and afterwards he disposed the preparations for his triumph, which was to continue four days. The first day was set apart for the triumph over Gaul, wherein he shewed the Romans in several pictures, the names of three hundred nations, and eight hundred cities, which he had conquered,

conquered, with the slaughter of a million of enemies, which he had destroyed in different battles. Among the prisoners appeared Vercingetorix, who had raised all Gaul against the Romans, and had attacked Cæsar at the siege of Alexia, being followed by three hundred thousand combatants, besides seventy thousand that were in the besieged place. All the Roman soldiers followed their general crowned with laurels, and with this equipage he marched to the capital, the steps of which he ascended on his knees, with forty elephants ranged on each side, which bore magnificent candlesticks adorned with flambeaux. This spectacle lasted till night, because the axle of his triumphal chariot broke, and had like to have given the conqueror a very dangerous fall, when he thought himself in the very height of his glory. His second triumph was over Egypt, wherein were the pictures of Ptolomy, Photinus, and Achillas, which greatly pleased the people. The third day shewed the defeat of Pharnaces, and the flight of that king, which raised an universal shout amongst the Romans, and caused many raileries of the conquered. It was in this procession that this inscription we have mentioned before was carried: *veni, vidi, vici*. But on the fourth day, the sight of Scipio's picture, of Petreius and Cato himself, who was painted tearing out his own bowels, made all Rome burst into tears and lamentation. Juba's son, who was then very young, was carried among the prisoners: and this prince became afterwards a very learned and worthy man. Augustus gave him a part of

his father's kingdom, and married him to young Cleopatra, daughter of Marc Antony. In these several triumphs they brought the sum of sixty-five thousand talents in silver, or in vessels and statues of curious workmanship, with a thousand eight hundred and twenty-two golden crowns, which weighed twenty thousand and fourteen pounds, and were the presents of princes and towns after his victories, according to the custom of those times. It was out of this sum that he paid his soldiers, besides what he had promised them in the beginning of the civil wars, viz. five thousand drachma's to each, the double to centurions, and the quadruple to tribunes and commanders of horse; and for a retreat to them after the wars, he assigned them several inheritances in different parts of Italy. The people likewise shared in his munificences; he distributed to them by head ten bushels of corn, and ten pound of oil; and besides the three hundred denarii he had promised, he added a hundred more, as an arrearage. He ordered besides, in favour of those who were not very rich, that the rent of houses, which was become excessive, should be reduced to two thousand small sesterces, and over the rest of Italy to five hundred; after this he treated all the Roman people at twenty-two thousand tables. That nothing might be wanting to the pomp of these feasts, he caused to the number of two thousand gladiators to fight before the people, amongst whom appeared Leptenus and Calpenus, who had formerly been senators; and this under pretence of celebrating the funerals of his daughter Julia.

Julia. There were seen the following days comedies in all sorts of languages, represented in different parts of the city, and children of the princes of Asia danced upon the theatres. The circus was enlarged by his orders, and surrounded with a ditch full of water; and in this place the noblest children of Rome exercised themselves on horseback, and on chariots drawn by two or four horses. At length separated into two companies, they represented a kind of sport of tournament, which was called *ludus trojanus*. To these diversions succeeded the hunting down of beasts, which lasted five days. After this were exhibited two encamped armies in the circus, consisting each of five hundred soldiers, twenty elephants, and three hundred horsemen, who represented a battle. The *Athletæ* had likewise two days, that is to say the wrestlers and the boxers. And for the last spectacle, there was a lake dug in the *campus martius*, where two fleets of galleys, equipped with a thousand rowers or sailors, gave the people the pleasure of seeing a naval combat *. These feasts drew so great a number of people to Rome, that the greatest part were forced to encamp in the public squares, and several were pressed to death in the crowds, amongst whom were two senators.

* The Romans called these spectacles *naumachia*.

C H A P. LXI.

Cæsar goes into Spain, where he defeats the sons of Pompey, and the eldest is slain.

DURING these rejoicings the sons of Pompey strengthened themselves in Spain; and as these people still loved passionately the memory of their father, they soon got together a powerful army. They had good captains, and amongst the rest Labienus: this obliged Cæsar to go in person to oppose their progress. He was then dictator for the third time; but before he departed, he would make a general review of all the inhabitants of Rome, as the censors had done before him. He only found one hundred and fifty thousand families, which remained of three hundred and twenty thousand, upon the list before the civil war, so that more than one half had perished by discord. Cæsar arrived in Spain sooner than he was expected. Cneius the eldest of the two Pompeys was besieging the city of Uloa, and Sextus the younger was then at Corduba with a strong garison. Cæsar to raise the siege, and cause jealousy in Cneius, advanced towards Corduba with those troops he had brought, and added to them, that army which Pedius and Fabius, his lieutenants, commanded in that province. This motion had its effect; Cneius urged by his brother's letters, raised the siege of Uloa, and came to

to oppose Cæsar, who after having in vain endeavoured to draw him to a battle, marched off to invest Atecua, one of the most important places of the Pompeian party. Cneius being deceived by the fires which Cæsar kindled in his camp, did not discover his march, but when it was no longer of use to follow him, he therefore retired to Corduba, that he might refresh his troops, and afterwards seized on the heights near Cæsar's camp: but this camp was so well entrenched, that he could undertake nothing against it. The siege lasted a long time, and the besieged behaved very gallantly; this engaged Cneius to make great efforts to throw succours into the town. There were many battles fought with equal advantage; at last, the garison seeing themselves closely pressed on, resolved on an action of the most horrible perfidy, viz. to massacre the inhabitants, and then make a general sally, with a view of forcing the circumvallation of Cæsar's camp. The massacre was executed: but the crime did not succeed according to their wish; they were beat in the sally, and driven back into the city with great slaughter. Then Minutius who commanded, desired a capitulation; and surrendered the place almost in the sight of Cneius. After this Cæsar approached Pompey's camp, and they disputed the ground by different works, and lines, they caused to be made; which drew on a great battle, and Cæsar's horse were driven back by the cavalry of the enemy. This advantage, which seemed to repair the loss of Atecua, raised again the courage of Cneius: some letters

of his were found, in which he writ: " That
 " Cæsar had with him only raw and unexpe-
 " rienced soldiers; that he durst not trust them
 " to the hazard of a battle, but that he should
 " find means of obliging him to it." Full of
 these thoughts he went to encamp near Seville.
 In the mean time Cæsar seized on two castles;
 and knowing that Cneius was encamped in the
 plain of Munda, he marched his army thither.
 The two generals had an equal impatience for a
 decisive battle; so that Cneius drew out his
 troops in order of battle at the break of day.
 His post was well chosen upon an eminence,
 the sides of which were defended by the city of
 Munda, and a rivulet or marshy ground. The
 beauty of the day gave a great lustre to his
 troops, and especially his cavalry, who were
 compleatly armed; he had the rivulet on his
 right, which separated the eminence on which
 he was encamped from the plain, which was
 five miles long, and extended even to Cæsar's
 camp. He waited in this position for the enemies
 descent into the plain: and as Pompey's party
 did not march above a mile from the town,
 Cæsar advanced as far as the rivulet. The rules
 of war required that Cneius should have disputed
 this passage, but his generals were obstinate in
 keeping the higher ground. Cæsar saw that he
 could not advance to them without hazard, and
 that they were preparing to attack him in the
 ascent; on this he ordered his army to halt, as
 if he had designed to entrench himself in this
 place. His army consisted of eighty cohorts,
 and eight thousand horse. The tenth legion
 was

was on the right, the third and fifth on the left, and the horse drawn up upon the two wings. Cneius had fourteen legions: his light horse amounted to six thousand, with an equal number of auxiliaries. Cæsar's soldiers murmured that they were denied this opportunity of fighting; and this delay so animated Pompey's party, that they advanced to the declivity. Shouts were raised on both sides, and the battle began with all its fury. The first shock was supported by both armies with so much vigour, that Cæsar's men, who were accustomed to victory, abated much of their courage. The tenth legion, tho' much diminished, pressed hard upon that which was opposed to it; but Pompey marched from the right a legion to support it. During this motion Cæsar's cavalry charged Pompey's left wing, which received them without disorder; so that all the troops on both sides were now engaged, and none expected safety but by their valour. All authors agree, that Cæsar never was in so great a danger; and he said himself afterwards, "That he had fought at all other places for glory, but at Munda for life." He engaged several times the enemy himself, crying out to his men, that they ought to rescue him and restore him to his children, and thereby spare themselves the confusion of being beaten. He animated them so well by his words; but so much better by a thousand actions of valour, that at last they overcame, but with great difficulty, the troops of Cneius, after they had killed thirty thousand on the spot. Cæsar lost a thousand, and had five hundred wounded.

All Pompey's ensigns were taken, and Varus and Labienus killed in the battle. Cneius fled with one hundred and fifty horse to Carteia *, from whence he hoped to escape by sea; but he was obliged to make to shore at the approach of Didius, Cæsar's lieutenant. He was immediately besieged in a tower, and attacked on all sides: so that being wounded in the shoulder, and the thigh, and having his heel dislocated, he was abandoned by his men, and slain in a cave whither he fled for refuge. The young Sextus was more prosperous, for having escaped from Corduba, where he was in the time of the battle, he concealed himself so well that Cæsar could not find him, or perhaps what seems more true, despised him upon account of his youth. Nothing resisted Cæsar after this famous victory, and having given orders, and exacted great contributions from those cities which had been his enemies, under pretence of punishing their rebellion, he returned to Rome, with an extreme pleasure for having at length subdued that republic, which gave laws to the greatest part of the earth.

* At present Tarifa.

CHAP.

C H A P. LXII.

Cæsar returns to Rome. He makes several laws, and reforms the calendar. The excessive honors done him, draw on him the envy of the senate.

HE would triumph at his return; but this triumph was not followed with shouts of joy by the people, who saw with pain, the memory of that Pompey insulted whom they had so ardently loved. Cæsar after this applied himself to the regulation of the state, and pardoned all those who had born arms against him. He even replaced all Pompey's statues, and Cicero said pleasantly on this subject, "Let Cæsar by repairing Pompey's statues secure his own." He published several laws; such as that which regulated the expence of feasts, which he made be observed very strictly; another concerning coaches, embroidered clothes, and pearls, which he restrained to certain persons; as likewise that law which granted the right of a Roman citizen to all those who excelled in any illustrious profession; besides a great number of very wise ordinances. He presided in judgments, with a wonderful attention, and without ever sparing the guilty, and to shew that his care extended to every thing, he undertook to regulate the Roman year, which was then in great confusion. As it did but consist of ten months, according
to

to the establishment of Romulus, tho' Numa had taken care to add two others composed of sixty-five days. The year wanted still eleven days and a quarter to its completion, and tho' they had sought several remedies for this incon-
 veniency, it happened by succession of time, that their religious feasts fell out in seasons foreign to their institution: as those of the vintage in the spring, and those of harvest in winter. Cæsar after consulting upon this head several skilful astronomers, and being very learned himself in this science, of which he had written a book, he regulated the year by the course of the sun, and divided it into three hundred and sixty-five days, with the addition of a day at the end of every four years, which is called bissextile. And this is the foundation of that method which is followed at this day. He added to the ten old months two others, viz. January and February, to make this reduction in all its exactness: and that year consisted of fifteen months. In the mean time, as he was not beloved by the greatest of the senate, tho' his ordinances had for their end the public good, they did not fail of blaming them by sharp raileries. And Cicero amongst others being in company where they said, the constellation Lyra would appear the next day. "Yes, replied he, according to the new ordinance." Tho' Cæsar was informed of all their discourses, yet he suffered them with so great a moderation, that he made no enquiry after certain persons, who had torn to pieces his reputation by defamatory libels. All his designs showed the elevation of his soul; he

he purposed to have adorned Rome with a most magnificent temple consecrated to Mars, as likewise with a theatre; he was going to dry up some marshes that were a nuisance to Rome, and empty lakes. After these works, he designed to have attacked the Parthians, and revenge the death of Crassus; and after he had conquered them, enter by Hircania, and along the shores of the Caspian sea into Scythia, to open himself a passage through Germany into Gaul, and so return to Rome: but death intercepted all these great enterprises. Cæsar's fortune, which was declared by so many victories, his merit and great qualities, supported by the affection of the people, and universal love of his soldiers, had raised him above all the rest of the Romans. But as it usually happens in commonwealths, wherein every one presuming on his own merit, looks upon supreme command as an acquisition, which he has a right to in his turn; this high elevation of Cæsar's had got him the hatred and envy of all the senators, who could not look upon him but as an usurper of that rank, which they thought they had a title to; it being a certain fact, that in regard of ambition as well as interest, no one almost judges equitably with relation to himself. In the mean time, by an infamous conduct they flattered every day his vanity with new honors; so as to place him in some sort, during life, among the orders of their gods. They were not content with electing him consul for ten years, and making him perpetual dictator; they gave him the name of emperor, father of his country, and

and they declared his person sacred and inviolable; they raised him a statue among those of their kings; gave him a tribunal in the orchestra; a chair of gold in the senate, and in fine, at all public shews in the circus, a canopy, a velvet cushion, with the ceremony of offerings, as at the statues of their gods; nay they consecrated a temple to him, with altars, with a pontif, and subaltern priests. Some authors relate, that he extorted these honors by his authority: but others say, they were voluntarily given him by the people. But it is certain they were thus decreed in the senate, and all those who composed that body came to him to declare their determination. He was at that time in the temple of Venus; and whether it was out of pride or some other motive, he received them sitting, without rising to go to meet them. Some say, that * Balbus held him when he was going to do it. others that he was provoked at Trebatius, who put him in mind of that complaisance. This haughtiness and contempt offended the senators, and inflamed their resentment. This made them from that moment report every where, that he affected the name of king. He had in effect the power; and wanted nothing but the name, which was odious to the Romans. Cæsar, who knew their aversion to this title, avoided it, and said one day to some persons who called him lord and king, my name is Cæsar. Notwithstanding, he let escape from him sometimes discourses which favoured the reports of his ambition. He was heard to say, “ that the re-

Corneilius.

“ public

“ public was no more than a name and idea ;
 “ and that Sylla shewed that he was ignorant
 “ of literature, when he abdicated the dictator-
 “ ship.” All these discourses were maliciously
 improved, and gave a great opportunity to his
 enemies : two adventures which happened after-
 wards, contributed much to confirm the popular
 sentiments. As he returned one day from public
 sacrifice, some one put upon the head of his
 statue a crown of bays, tied with a white
 ribbon. This was a kind of diadem : Marullus
 and Cæsius, tribunes of the people, tore off
 this chaplet, and ordered the man to prison who
 had put it there, which greatly offended Cæsar.
 He reproached the tribunes, publicly quarrelled
 with them, and took from them their employ-
 ments ; this affront, which was given to the peo-
 ple’s representatives, stirred them up against him.
 The other incident made a greater noise. They
 were celebrating a festival in honor of their god
 Pan, which they called Lupercalia. In this
 ceremony young Romans of the first quality,
 who had employments that year, ran naked
 through the streets with thongs of leather in
 their hands, striking at, and jesting with all
 they met. And by a ridiculous superstition the
 most prudish ladies went to meet them, and
 presented their hands to be beaten with this sa-
 cred leather, believing it had the virtue of pro-
 curing them easy child-births, and even of mak-
 ing them fertile. Antony, who was then consul,
 acted the chief person ; and Cæsar assisted at this
 religious spectacle, seated in his tribunal upon a
 gilded chair, and in his triumphal robes. An-
 tony

Antony running through the rows of people, opened himself a passage, ascended the tribunal, and presented a diadem to Cæsar. Some clapt their hands as with applause; but when Cæsar pushed back the diadem, the applause was general. Antony offered it a second time, but with the same marks of publick approbation. Cæsar refused it again, which was followed with a thunder of acclamations. Cæsar knew by this means the public sentiments, which he sought to inform himself of in this manner. He rose up to carry the diadem to the capitol, but he was not master of his chagrin, and he said in the evening to his friends, that he would willingly offer his throat to any man that would cut it.

C H A P. LXIII.

Conspiracy against Cæsar. Presages of his death. He is killed in the senate.

THAT he had ten thousand proofs of the hatred which they bore him, yet he gave himself up in such sort to his destiny, that he neglected, from that moment, any precaution against his enemies. He was oftentimes heard to say, “ that he had better once fall by the hands of his enemies, than make himself miserable by fearing their treachery.” Other times he would say, “ That the republic had more interest than he in his preservation; “ that he had acquired power and glory enough; “ and

“ and that the republic, after his death, would
 “ be torn to pieces by more cruel civil wars,
 “ than it had ever suffered in his time.” And
 a few days before his death, as he was supping
 with Lepidus, as his friends were disputing,
 whilst he was writing a dispatch, what death
 was the easiest? “ It is (said he turning to
 them,) “ without doubt the quickest and the
 “ least foreseen.” After this he broke the com-
 pany of his Spanish guards, and contented him-
 self with a guard of friends. This encouraged
 them to attempt his life. Above sixty senators
 entered into this conspiracy, the chief of which
 were Brutus, whom Cæsar had pardoned after
 the battle of Pharsalia; and Cassius, who had
 surrendered to him Pompey’s fleet, at the pas-
 sage of the Hellespont. They were both of
 them prætors, and the latter Cæsar’s enemy,
 because he had named Brutus first prætor, to
 the prejudice of Cassius, who was more advanced
 in age and dignity. The name of Brutus was
 famous at Rome, since that first * consul, who
 bore the name, and banished the kings. There
 was found written upon the basis of his statue:
 “ Would to the gods thou wert still alive!”
 They flung billets or little notes into the prætor’s
 tribunal, with these words upon them. “ Thou
 “ art asleep, Brutus, and not the true Brutus.”
 Cassius was author of the greatest part of these
 notes. He hated Cæsar for several reasons,
 and principally because he had taken those lions
 from him, with which he had designed to give a
 spectacle to the people. Cæsar himself was

* Junius Brutus.

distrustful of him ; and as one day his friends
 were advising him to watch over the conduct
 of Antony and Dolabella : “ I am not, said he,
 “ afraid of those perfumed and fat fellows ; but
 “ of these lean and meagre ones.” He was
 now preparing for his expedition against the
 Parthians, and had ordered sixteen legions, with
 ten thousand horse, to march towards Asia. He
 designed to depart himself four days after, and
 put himself at their head ; when the conspirators
 spread a report, that the Sybil’s oracles declared
 that the Parthians could not be conquered but
 by a king, and that under this pretence Aurelius
 Cotta was to propose to the senate the conferring
 this title upon Cæsar. Cassius took this occasion
 to visit Brutus, whose sister he had married ; and
 asked of him if he would go to the senate upon
 the * ides of March, when Cæsar’s friends were
 to propose his being elected king. Brutus said
 he would not be there. But replied Cassius,
 “ What ? if you be sent for ? Then answered
 “ Brutus, it will be my duty to speak my
 “ sentiments, to contradict them, and dye ra-
 “ ther than lose my liberty ? You are ignorant,
 “ added Cassius, who you are, Brutus, if you
 “ think those notes that were thrown into your
 “ tribunal came from mean persons, and not
 “ from the most illustrious and virtuous in
 “ Rome. They may expect from other prætors
 “ games, spectacles, and gladiators ; but they
 “ expect from you, the abolition of tyranny,
 “ as a debt due to them from your family ; and
 “ they are ready to expose themselves for you

* The 15th of that month.

“to the greatest dangers, if you are disposed to act for them as they will.” They separated after this conversation, and the name of Brutus, who was highly esteemed, engaged many others in the conspiracy. Thus they all resolved to execute their design upon the ides of March, and in the senate house.

Many prodigies foretold this calamity to Cæsar. There was found at Capua an old tomb with a brass plate, with this inscription in Greek letters; that when the bones of Capys should be discovered, a man of the race of Julius should be slain by the hands of his relations, and his death be revenged by the desolation of all Italy. They brought him word, that those horses which he had consecrated, and left at liberty, upon his passage of the Rubicon, had not eat for some days, nor ceased weeping. Spurina, a very skillful augur, told him that he was threatned with a great danger upon the ides of March. And on the eve of that day, a little bird flew into Pompey's hall with a sprig of bays in its mouth, and was torn to pieces by other birds, that pursued it from a neighbouring wood. He dreamt the same night, that he was carried above the clouds, and gave his hand to Jupiter; and his wife Calphurnia dreamt, that the roof of the palace fell in, and that they murdered her husband in her arms. At the same time the doors of his chamber opened of themselves with a great noise. This last accident shook him, so that his wife, by her prayers and tears, made him promise not to go out that day: but another Brutus, surnamed Decimus, who was in the

number of the conspirators, tho' one of his most intimate friends, made him change his resolution, by smiling at him, and telling him that he was expected in the senate, and that it would be a disgrace to him, not to dare to go out but when it pleased Calphurnia to have happy dreams. Thus Decimus dragged him almost by force, and shame, out of his own house; and as it now all things had contributed to his ruin, a slave, who came to give him information of the conspiracy, could never pierce the crowd that surrounded him, so as to be heard by him. Artemidorus of * Cnidos, his former host and friend, presented him a memorial to the same purpose; but he blended it with other papers which had been given him; and Lena, who was one of the conspirators, entertaining him a long time at his coming out of his coach, the others, who thought themselves discovered, were already doubtful whether they should not stab themselves with those poignards they had concealed under their robes, when Lena, leaving Caesar and kissing his hand, gave them to understand he thanked him for some favour he had obtained of him. The assembly of the senate was held in a place that Pompey had built for that purpose, and called for that reason, the court or hall of Pompey, and his statue was placed in it upon a pedestal. Caesar met Spurina as he was entering, and said to him laughing, that the Ides of March were come; yes, replied the augur, but they are not past. When he had taken his seat, the conspirators surrounded

* A town in Caria,

him, under pretence of saluting him, and Tullius Cimba approached him to ask the pardon of his brother who was in banishment. Cæsar put off the affair and pushed back Cimba, who went so far as to take hold of his robe. And as Cæsar cried out, that was offering violence, * Casca, who was behind him, gave him the first blow with a poignard near his shoulder; it glanced and the wound was not mortal. Cæsar pierced Casca's arm with his stylus, crying out at the same time: Traitor, what hast thou done? Casca immediately called his brother; and Cæsar had a mind to rise, but he received a mortal wound in the stomach, and all the conspirators charged him together with so much fury, that several of them wounded one another: he yet made great efforts, and rushed through them like a lion, but perceiving Brutus with a poignard in his hand, he covered his head with his robe, and fell at the foot of Pompey's statue, stabbed in twenty-four places †.

* Servilius.

† Year of Rome 709. before Christ 43.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.



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* See the Year of Rome 703, before Christ 47.

The End of the First Volume.



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